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Indian Federal Finance

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I

The theory of public finance has been developed chiefly in countries with a unitary form of government. It is not therefore surprising that most of the orthodox canons of the subject tend to neglect the peculiar aspects of federal finance. Of course, there is little fundamental difference of principle between the problems that arise from either form of political organisation, but in detail there are differences sufficiently numerous and important to reduce seriously the value of propositions based upon the one and applied to the other. No 'unitary' public finance can deal adequately with the problems, for instance, of double taxation or of 'intermediate' distribution, as they arise under a federal system.

India's federal finance is to be studied with reference rather to the future than the present. An enquiry into the Indian federal finance raises some difficult economic and constitutional problems. It is further complicated by temporary difficulties, partly by the present economic depression, and partly by the fact that the Indian budgets, Central and Provincial have been thrown completely out of gear. The immediate financial prospects cannot safely be made the basis of a rigid constitutional scheme. It will be necessary to aim at a considerable degree of elasticity in the financial framework so that changing industrial and economic conditions in India at a later date might make it imperative to modify the financial schemes now proposed.

The success of a modern Government depends in a very large measure on the financial resources which it can command for carrying out its policies. The self-rule of the Indian people, if it is to fulfil its cherished ends, must be based on a sound financial organisation. This does not necessarily mean that high taxation is a condition of the successful working of self-government. Taxes will have to be raised under the reformed constitution according to the people's capacity to pay, whatever may be the amount yielded by them. Though high taxation is not a condition of self-government, neither can low taxation be necessarily expected as its result. The chief merit of the financial organisation of a self-governing India shall not lie in raising less revenue or retrenching more expenditure that at present but in raising revenue wisely and spending it productively. We will do well to remember Gladstone's saying "Good finance consists more in the spending than in the collecting of revenue." Nothing is more naive than the view entertained in some quarters that under a national regime, the government of the country will be less expensive or that the taxes will be lower. Economy can and must be effected in various directions. Substantial economies in existing expenditure could only be brought about by a comprehensive reorganisation of the system of administration, but it might not be possible here to make any definite allowance for the effect of such reorganisation. In fact, it is a mistake to suppose that the cost of administration as a whole under the new political order will markedly fall off. In dealing with the financial foundation of a Federal Government in India, it is necessary to ensure that a sufficient field is available for raising money by taxation. The field of taxation assumes a definite constitutional importance under a system of Federal Government. The autonomy of the central and local authorities in their respective spheres which is the essence of Federation implies that each of these governments should have unhampered fiscal powers, that is to say, a division of the sphere of government must also include a division of the available sources of taxation.

II

The problem of federal finance in India is largely to find a suitable basis on which to allocate existing or potential sources of revenue between the units and the federal body appropriate to their functions. The authors of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms (1918) pointed out that if self-government was to become a reality, the Provinces should be in a position to calculate their resources with certainty, and to some extent be free to develop their own taxable capacity. They proposed therefore that a genuinely federal system of finance should be set up, and that the sources of revenue should be separated between the

Central Government and the Provinces [1]. In conformity with this principle, the system of complete separation of heads of revenue was adopted in the Government of India Act (1919).

The main features of the financial organisation in India under the Act of 1919 are: a line has been drawn between the Central and Provincial heads of revenue; customs and excises (other than alcohol and narcotics), income-tax and salt are the principal resources of revenue of the Central Government; land revenue, excise on alcohol and narcotics and stamps are the three principal sources of revenue assigned to the Provincial Governments. In addition to these important sources of taxation each of the governments derives a part of the revenue from the various departments they respectively administer. For instance, Local Governments derive some income from forest and registration departments, while the Central Government derives a valuable part of its income from commercial services, such as, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, etc. In fact the position of public finance under the present Government of India Act is that both Central and Provincial Governments have to reckon each on three or four taxes as the mainstay of their financial resources. In examining a future division of the field of taxation, it is only the principal sources of taxation that need be considered with a view to determine which of them should fall under the Central, and which under the Provincial sphere. Constitutionally, it is to be noted that under the present political system the taxing power of the Government of India is absolutely unrestricted in the case of the important taxes assigned to provincial governments. The field of taxation, like the field of other administration, must be co-extensive with the field of legislation in each province.

But the introduction of this system of separated heads of revenue was estimated to result in the Central Budget in a deficit of Rs. 98.3 millions. A committee was therefore appointed under Lord Meston to make proposals for the equitable distribution of this deficit among the Provinces during the transition period. The Committee recommended two kinds of contributions—initial and standard. The initial contributions were based on the immediate financial position of the Provinces resulting from the Reforms. The standard contributions were based

1. Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms (1918), Chap. V.

on more permanent factors.[2] These provincial contributions were reduced by the Central Government between 1925 and 1928, and finally abolished in 1929 and since that date, the definite separation of revenue resources has been in force.

The system of dyarchy introduced in the Provinces by the Reforms of 1919 was coupled with the principle of joint purse, and this took away any element there was of responsibility. One of the defects of the system of separation of tax resources was that it was viewed as favourable to agricultural than the more industrialised provinces, and this has given rise to a continuous demand that the latter should receive if not the whole, at any rate a part of the income-tax that is collected from their residents, or alternatively they should be entitled to levy a surcharge on the income-tax collected locally. A second and more general defect of the system is that, whereas the Central Government has retained two sources—customs and excise and the income-tax—which are flexible and capable of yielding expanding revenue—the expenditure of the Central Government is very largely a fixed charge, consisting mainly of the cost of the army and interest on debt. The Provinces on the other hand which are charged with the duty of developing education and public health services have been left with sources of revenue which are more or less stationary like the land tax.

III

There are certain principles that appear to be essential factors of any scheme of reform of Indian finance. First certain anomalies in our

2. *Initial* and *standard* contributions are as follows:—

	Initial 1921-22 lakhs.	Standard (expressed as share of 90).
Madras ..	348	17
Bombay ..	56	13
Bengal ..	63	19
United Provinces ..	240	18
Punjab ..	175	9
Burma ..	64	6½
Central Provinces ..	22	5
Assam ..	15	2½
Bihar and Orissa ..	—	10
Total ..	983	100

system of taxation should be got rid of; secondly that if India is to continue to develop at the pace desired, she will have to increase her taxation, and thirdly, whatever scheme of taxation is adopted for the future ought, if possible, to be one that is applicable to the conditions of the States as well as of the Provinces.

Sir Walter Layton, the financial expert with the Simon Commission made important proposals with regard to future allocation of revenues between the Central Government and the Provinces. Layton begins this report with an interesting chapter on India's inadequate revenue. He shows how the revenue per head is low, not only absolutely but relatively being only 6 per cent. of the national income as against 20 per cent. in Japan and one assumption that underlies his financial proposals is that it is both possible and desirable to improve the economic and social conditions of the Indian people by substantial increase in expenditure on the "nation-building" services, and secondly, that it is possible to raise additional revenue for the purpose. This position is really incontestable because Layton has pointed out that more revenue lies at the root of all reform and that in the years to come the spending power of the provinces must largely increase. From a nationalist point of view this appears to be a sound principle in regard to the future of India's finance. The principal argument in favour of a federal constitution in India is to fix the responsibility for a rapid social and economic development on the various local authorities.

Layton's proposals for the imposition of new taxation are regrading of the income-tax, income-tax on agricultural incomes, death duties, excise on cigarettes and matches and an increase in local rates. Sir Walter Layton would make few changes with the existing division of heads of revenue between the Central and Provincial Governments, the notable exception being the proposal for the transfer of commercial stamp to the Central from the Provincial Exchequer (but the difficulties involved in such a transfer have been pointed out by the Percy Committee). The loss of 1½ crores of revenue on account of this transfer is proposed to be made good by limiting the import duty on foreign liquor at 30 per cent. and thus enabling the provinces to levy an additional excise duty calculated to yield a commensurate revenue. Layton has suggested that within a period of 10 years from the working of the new constitution, the Central Government would surrender to the provinces revenue amounting to 12 crores, 6 crores representing the entire proceeds of salt import and excise duty, and another 6 crores representing 50 per cent. of the personal income-tax collected in the provinces. It is also proposed to tax agricultural income and the proceeds of the tax on agricultural income in each province should be made over to the

local Governments. A revenue of 5 crores is expected from this source for the provinces. A more important accession to the provincial revenue is proposed by the two new taxing powers for the provinces *viz.*, the right to levy a terminal tax on goods carried by rail and the right to levy a surcharge on income-tax on all persons to the extent of a quarter the rate at which income-tax is levied by the Central Government. The terminal tax is expected to yield 8 crores to the provinces, and the surcharge on income-tax 3 crores to the provinces. These proposals of new taxation are rounded off by Sir Walter Layton by the suggestion of two national excises on tobacco and matches, the former bringing in 5 crores and the latter 3 crores of rupees respectively. These two taxes also are to benefit the provinces, and their proceeds together with that of the salt duty when surrendered by the Central Government should form a Provincial fund and be distributed among the provinces according to population. The net result of all these financial proposals is that the Provinces will benefit by a revenue of 24 crores from new taxation, and by 12 crores a few years later from surrender of existing revenue of the Central Government.

The Layton proposals are open to considerable criticism. First they go against the federal principle. There are at least 5 taxes—the personal and the agricultural income-tax, and the three national excises which Layton would allocate to the provinces but to be administered by the Central Government. It is the Central Legislature which is to possess the power of annually voting the income-tax and the national excises. No financial arrangement could be more subversive of the political autonomy of the provinces. Again the proposal of dividing the personal income-tax between the Central Government and the Provincial Governments suggests clearly the danger of the provinces being overtaxed in order to meet the urgent needs for revenue of the Central Government or of the Central Government having to overtax itself to meet the urgent need for revenue of the provinces. These proposals fit in well with the constitution of a Central Legislature proposed by the Simon Commission, namely, that it should be representative of the provincial legislatures, and not of general tax payers electing members on a popular basis. In fact in so far as Sir Walter Layton's proposals aim at giving to the provinces sources of revenue which are leviable by the Central legislature alone, they seem to imply a negation of federal government.

Secondly, the Layton proposals contemplate a surrender of revenue by the Central Government within a period of 10 years. Whether such a surrender is possible depends on several factors both of reduction of expenditure and increase of revenue. The history of remission of provincial contributions under the reformed constitution of 1919 is an

object lesson that a future financial arrangement based on the future obligation of surrender of revenue should be avoided if possible.

Thirdly, under the Layton scheme, the Central revenues will be almost entirely deprived of an element of elasticity. In a bad year, it would be difficult to raise the income-tax. The salt tax which has been easily increased by the Central Government in times of stringency will also have been provincialised and thus there would be greater difficulties in raising additional revenues in times of emergency. Again it may be noted that under the Layton scheme too much reliance is placed on the customs and income-tax alone. Under the prospective balance sheet which Sir Walter Layton has drawn up, out of the total revenue of 82 crores, no less than 68 crores are proposed to be raised from two items viz., income-tax and customs, but it is these two items that are likely to be affected in times of trade depression. Finally how far does the Layton scheme help to remove some of the anomalies in the present system of taxation? Layton's proposal that the terminal tax should be taken away from the local bodies and converted into an item of provincial revenue and a consumption tax by levy at every railway station is not commendable. The Simon Commission themselves insist on the inadequacy of resources of the local bodies. If the terminal tax is a proper method, why take it away from them ? The Taxation Inquiry Committee have shown that it is a most improper method of taxation tending to become an inland transit duty, and so an impediment to internal trade for the prevention of which the United States of America and the Australian constitutions have specific provision. Again the Simon Commission repeatedly insist that if the Indian States wish to come into a Federation, the first condition must be the abandonment of the inland customs duties. Further there is an urgent need for reduction of railway freight rates. However much new taxation may be needed, an addition to freight rates under the name of a terminal tax does not seem a proper way of levying it.

The inequality of the taxation of land and the necessity for remedying it by imposing an income-tax are emphasised by Layton who says that there has been a very large increase in the net product of land which is enjoyed by the cultivator and the landowner of which the tax-gatherer has succeeded in gathering very little. Layton thinks that there is no justification for the continuation of the present exemption, although he admits that it may be desirable that it should be removed by stages at specified dates. He says that it is only in this way it would be possible to impose a graduated burden upon landholders and to levy from them a share of the increased burden that is necessary in India, and it would prevent the present tendency for savings accumu-

lated in industry to be invested in land in order to escape taxation. The taxation of land in India is a vexed and controversial question which requires a thorough investigation and we cannot therefore be satisfied with the summary fashion in which Layton has disposed of such an important question.

The third condition for an ideal system of distribution of revenues is that it should be one to suit the States as well as the Provinces. Throughout the whole of this discussion, it is assumed that the new constitution should from the very beginning proceed upon a federal basis, and this is one of great importance in dealing with the financial relations between the States and the Provinces. If a federation of British Indian provinces is to be formed now, and its conventions are established without regard to the States, it would be much more difficult for the States to enter it later than if their point of view has been considered from the first. It is reasonable to think that what the States want is a fair financial deal, and a voice in common affairs. Any system of distribution of the taxes applicable to the States as well as the Provinces must involve as little interference as possible with their internal administration. Applying this principle to the proposals of Layton, we have to consider the case of stamps, excises and income-tax. As regards stamps, no great difficulty would seem to arise. The stamps for the particular classes of transactions that are to be subjected to central taxation can be distributed to the States as to the Provinces and sold through their agency. It would still be open to the States to impose their own stamp duties on other classes of transactions. In the case of Excises, so long as they were limited to the levy of fixed duties at places of origin, no difficulty need arise. The cotton excise duty was levied in the States as well as in the Provinces, and no complaint was even heard that it was not properly levied. But there is a real difficulty in the case of the income-tax. There are many States which have no income-tax at all. Those that levy it do not levy it at the same rate as the Government of India. It would be difficult to induce all the States to impose the income-tax at the Government of India rate and to secure efficiency in its administration. So the only way of meeting this difficulty seems to be to leave the whole of the present income-tax to the units of the Federation, and to give to the Government of India a large share of the excises.

As regards the share the States are entitled in the existing Central revenues, Layton's proposals seem to dispose of the matter in a summary fashion. For the purpose of appraising the claim of the States, Layton first works out the increase in the Customs duties on imports that has accrued since the beginning of the war and the increase in the

cost of the army in the same period. He attributes to the States 16 per cent. of the former, and 22 per cent. of the latter, gets figures of 6 and 5½ crores as the result of the calculations and declares that the claims and counter-claims are of a similar order of magnitude. He adds "it is not necessary to discuss here any of the minor claims, namely that the States should take the responsibility for part of the debt or increase in other All-India charges on the one hand or that the States should have a share in the salt tax, railway receipts and other budget items on the other, for the amounts involved are small, and if admitted on the one side or the other, would not greatly affect the picture that has been given of India's finances." It is difficult to see, when the States claim a share of the customs which are imposed for the purposes of India as a whole, they should be offered a share only in the increase in customs since the commencement of the war; again there is no justification for taking different percentages in reckoning their share of income from customs, and their share of the expenditure on defence. The other items are disposed of as insignificant, but they are not so, for they will make a serious difference to the amount of the revenues available for distribution between the Central authority and the units of the Federation. And this is an additional reason for meeting it in the first instance by inviting the States to be parties in the great adventure of the future instead of making a grudging settlement with them now which will be another obstacle to their entering into partnership in future.

The most important proposal under the Layton scheme is that relating to the provincial pool which is in effect that certain local excises e.g., those on cigarettes and matches should be collected centrally and distributed on *per capita* basis. There should also be added to the pool the surplus arising from the Central Budget if and when a condition of surplus is attained. It might be said that this proposal is a negation of provincial autonomy; that the provincial legislatures should enjoy, proceeds of revenues without the unpopularity of imposing the taxes, that there would never be any certainty of the Central legislature passing them, and that therefore no province could be certain as to what it had to spend or again *per capita* distribution would be unfair to certain provinces inasmuch as the consumption of salt or tobacco per head is very much greater in some than in others. But one thing in favour of the scheme is excises are a corollary of the customs, and like the customs ought to be centrally administered. Such administration tends to be cheaper, and more efficient; and as it conduces to uniformity, it also tends to put a stop to those inequalities in provincial levies which have contributed to the differences in provincial revenues.

IV

We shall next consider the recommendations of the Peel Committee officially known as the Federal Finance Sub-committee which was the financial adviser to the Second Round Table Conference. The committee was appointed "to examine and report upon the general principles upon which the financial resources and obligations of India should be apportioned between the Federation, the British Indian units jointly and severally, and the States units."

The committee have started from the standpoint—(1) that it is undesirable to disturb the existing distribution of resources between the various governments in India; (2) that practically the Federation and its constituent units are likely to require all their present resources if not fresh sources of revenue so that it is improbable that any considerable head of revenue could be surrendered initially by any of the governments without the acquisition of alternative resources. The importance of the recommendations of the Committee may be gauged from the general principles they have enunciated in regard to some of the main items of federal finance. As regards the allocation of resources between the Federation and its constituent units, the committee observe that the Federal resources should as far as possible be confined to revenues derived alike from the inhabitants of the provinces and of the States or by any agreement with them of a simple character. As regards the classification of revenues, the most satisfactory solution would be that the Federal taxes and the Provincial taxes should be fully scheduled; in regard to the relations of Federal and State taxation, the abolition of all those taxes in the States as internal customs, which may be economically inadvisable from the point of view of the Federation as a whole. As regards Grants to constituent units, it should be open to the Federal Government with the assent of the Federal Legislature not only to make grants to provinces or States for specified purposes, but also, in the event of Federal revenues showing permanent surplus, to be free as a possible alternative to reduction of taxation, to allocate the surplus proceeds to the constituent units of the Federation, both States and British Indian Provinces.

As regards the borrowing powers of the units, though a province may raise loans in India upon the security of its own revenues, the Federal Government will have to exercise a restricted power of control over the time at which the provinces should issue their loans; in order to secure that loans are raised at the cheapest rates, the security should be as wide as possible and in the interests both of the federation and of the units, it is suggested that all loans raised by the Federal authority

should be secured not only on the revenues of the Federation but also on the revenues of the provinces of British India. As the Peel Committee had confined themselves mainly to the formulation of general principles, they recommended the appointment of an expert committee and this brings us to consider the report of the Federal Finance Committee, popularly known as the Percy Committee. This committee was appointed to estimate the probable financial position of the Federal Government and the provinces of British India in the early years of the Federation, and to advise on certain aspects of federal finance mainly on matters affecting the future relationship between the Federal Government and the constituent units.

The Report of the Percy Committee is an attempt to present a financial scheme for the Federation worked out in all its details. The authors of the report start with a proper emphasis on the abnormalities of the present financial situation due largely to the world depression which makes it difficult to set forth accurately the possible revenue and expenditures of the Central and Provincial Governments of India. Consequently they are obliged to make certain assumptions and formulate their schemes on the basis of such assumptions.

The first point of the Committee's work is to form a rough forecast of the budgets of the Federal and the Provincial Governments. The revenue estimates are based on the first Finance Act of 1931 *i.e.*, before the present surcharges came into force. The committee have warned the governments against, on the one hand, the error of supposing that the level of taxation may be lowered, and on the other, of the temptation of increasing the expenditure under the pretext of new constitutional changes. Already a majority of the governments are carrying into the future a load of deficits actually incurred which is an initial handicap to a scheme of Federal Finance.

The Committee have not allowed themselves to be hampered unduly by the abstract principles of Federal Finance and they have also deviated from the lines chalked out by the Peel Committee. In the first place, the Peel Committee's recommendation that taxes on income should be transferred to the provinces with the exception of the Corporation tax has been materially modified by the Percy Committee. Secondly, the Peel Committee's suggestions for federalising commercial stamps has been set aside by the Percy Committee on the ground that the simple constitutional solution would be to class all stamps duties as provincial sources of revenue. Thirdly, the Percy Committee afford no hopes of practical value regarding the new taxes suggested by the Peel Committee either for the Federation or for its constituent units.

Fourthly, the questions regarding the adjustment that may be necessary as between the present Central Government and the Federation to be formed have been disposed of by the Percy Committee in a summary fashion. The Committee have also dismissed as too remote a possibility the suggestions of the Peel Committee that the cash contributions of the States and the provincial contributions should, if possible, be wiped out.

The Percy Committee was appointed not so much for devising a scheme for British India and the States or Indian India. The outstanding points in regard to the position of the Railways, the pre-Federation Debt, the pension charges, the claim of the maritime States to customs revenue, and the adjustment of the tax systems of the States to those of British India have been disposed of in a summary fashion that some of these items would balance themselves. The question of the uncovered Pre-Federation debt has been needlessly pushed to the foreground creating an impression that central finance might be under fear of debits. The committee have found that the other assets of the present Central Government which will pass to the Federation would adequately compensate for the extra liability.

Again in the case of pensions it is difficult to understand how the claims of British India can remain the same both when the pensions are due and when they have been cleared off. Again what contribution will the States make to the Federation to balance the contribution from the Railways which the committee put at 5 crores. A better thing would be to frame a scheme by which fluctuations in the earnings of the Railways could be reflected in the provincial contributions or in the allocation of part of the income-tax to the various provinces.

Even if we leave aside such items as the Railways, and Pensions, etc., there is still the question, to put it in the language of the committee, "whether or to what extent this special contribution from the provinces can be regarded as balanced by a special burden borne by the States." The answer of the Committee is that the power of the Federal Government to redeem inequalities will be limited by intractable facts and it is doubtful whether a jealous comparison of the relative burdens offers a sound basis for a successful partnership.

We have so far confined ourselves to the main points of the report of the Percy Committee. We have now to ask—what is the federal aspect of the financial scheme recommended by the committee ? A study of the main features of the Percy Report shows how much the committee has been dominated by the facts of the present financial situation in India without much regard to the principles on which the federal

development of India should proceed. As the Central and Provincial Governments in India at present are not in a prosperous condition the Committee has proposed subventions to provinces and contributions from provinces to the Central Government. The system of contributions has been condemned by all financial experts as making two sets of governmental authorities subservient to each other. This system of contributions and subventions is subversive of the wise principle that each government should live of its own. It is no sufficient reason that it should continue because Central and Provincial governments in India are faced with deficits. Deficits are temporary and can be wiped off and the lines of future federal development should not be clouded by temporary financial conditions.

In regard to allocation of taxes also the Federal Finance Committee has departed from the straight path of federal finance. The committee acknowledge obvious defects in any system based upon the principle of taxation by one government for the benefit of the other governments and yet they recommend it and have brought down income-tax from a national tax to a tax leviable for the benefits of the units subject to a right of federal surcharge. Although there is a strong case for federating Excise—'it is a tax on consumption which in economic theory should not be levied by one governmental unit on the consumers of another'—the committee recommended its retention as a provincial source subject to the powers of the Federal government to impose a surcharge for its own purposes. Another variation from federal finance allowed by the committee is that the collection of federal taxes may be placed in the hands of the units themselves, a method of collection which may be cheap to start with, but will become dear in the long run when the interests of provinces and federation diverge. The whole idea of allowing federal and provincial governments to cross into each other's financial domain is opposed to the principles of federation. Lastly the committee have done nothing to bring the Indian States within the ambit of federal taxation. None of the Federal taxes is to apply to the subjects of Indian States. These criticisms of the report of the Finance Committee might be met by saying that they had to face existing facts like the treaty and the sovereign claims of the Indian States and the present financial situation in India. The financial arrangements proposed by the Percy Committee Report go to show that what is aimed at is not full federation but a *quasi* federation.

The financial system that it proposes partakes of the features of both confederate and federal finance. Of a federal character on the side of revenues are customs, and export duties leviable by the Central government, federal fees, federal surcharges on taxes on the income

or capital of corporations both in British India and in Indian States; on the side of expenditure are the cost of defence and foreign relations and of the debt services and of federal institutions like the federal court. Of a confederate character on the side of revenue are subsidies from Indian States and contributions from the provinces of British India (which are to be of two kinds normal and emergency contributions) to the federal Government; on the side of expenditure there is little of a confederate character, for confederations live at the mercy of the units. But the federal financial system proposed by the Percy Committee partakes of some of the character of a centralised government that now exists. It is not the province of the economist to decide between 'centralist' and 'decentralist' policies as such on general grounds. On economic grounds however, one should be inclined to say that a federal scheme of government always tends to be wasteful, and in so far as a constitution is in making, decentralist policies should be discouraged, especially as increasing mobility is, in all countries, making federal divisions more and more lose their original significance. But as the Simon Commission point out the question whether India will move towards centralisation in future depends on larger considerations than purely financial ones.

V

The Percy Committee (1932) forecast a surplus in the central budget during the first years of the Federation amounting to 4½ crores with a corresponding deficit in the Provincial budgets. This Committee as well as the committees of the various sessions of the Round Table Conferences agreed in principle that some division of the proceeds of the income-tax is necessary, but opinion as to the method and amount has varied in accordance with the changing financial situation.

There are two considerations which complicate the situation. One is the creation of two new provinces—Sindh and Orissa—both of whose budgets will certainly be in deficit for sometime to come. The other complication is that the Indian States are not prepared to agree to the imposition of a federal income-tax within their borders. This difficulty among others leads to the suggestion that the income-tax should be assigned entirely to the Provinces. But as the Central Government could not afford to lose so large a revenue, at any rate for sometime to come, this would have involved reviving the undesirable plan of provincial contributions to the Central Government.

The scheme of distribution therefore proposed in the White Paper is that taxes on income from federal sources should be permanently assigned to the Federation, and that a specified percentage—not less than

50 per cent. nor more than 75 per cent. of the normal taxes on income (except the corporation tax) should be assigned to the Provinces. But in order not to embarass the Central Government in the present financial stringency, the Federal Government should be entitled to retain out of this alloted portion an amount fixed for 3 years, and thereafter reduced to zero over a further period of 7 years. In addition the Federal Government would have power to levy a surcharge on taxes on income exercisable in case of financial stringency—provided that such times the States would also make equivalent contributions to the Federal fisc.

The plan of a permanent division of the income-tax raises certain difficulties. It is objected, for example, that any alteration in the rate of tax will affect both parties, although there may be only one which desires an increase or a decrease in yield. But the Joint Select Committee considers that for sometime this will not be serious, since both Federation and Provinces will need as much money as can be obtained from income-taxes and the rate will depend therefore on taxable capacity rather than on the position of the budget.

The Joint Select Committee therefore has endorsed in general the proposal of the White Paper. But as it is unlikely that for sometime to come the Central Government will not be able to do much more than find funds for the deficit Provinces, and as an early distribution of any large share in the income-taxes is improbable, the Joint Select Committee has considered it advisable to leave the actual time-table of transfer (3 and 7 years in the White Paper), as well as the percentage of income-tax to be transferred to be determined by Order-in-Council at as late a date as possible.

The Joint Select Committee accepts the proposal that the Federation should retain the yield of the Corporation tax on the income or capital of companies, and that after 10 years, the tax should be extended to the States. They do not approve, however, of the proposal that Provincial legislatures should have the power to impose a surcharge on personal income-tax.

As regards agricultural income-tax, the White Paper proposed that the Provinces should have exclusive power to impose taxes on agricultural incomes which are not at present subject to income-tax—and this has been approved by the Joint Select Committee. In regard to Excises, the Joint Select Committee has approved of the White Paper proposals to empower the Federation to allot to the units a share of the yield of the salt duties and excise duties other than those specifically

assigned to the Provinces, and also of export duties. The proposal with regard to salt and excise duties is made in order to provide more elastic sources of revenue for the Provinces and to facilitate the introduction of new taxes since they are not likely to be opposed if some of the benefit goes to the units.

The Joint Select Committee has also approved of proposals to vest in the Federation power to impose certain taxes, the proceeds of which must be distributed to the Provinces (subject to the right of the Federation to impose a surcharge for Federal purposes). These are taxes which should be uniform and should be collected through a Central machinery. Since the Federal units will share in the yield from certain federal taxes, they will have an interest in the Federal budget.

VI

THE STATES AND THE FEDERATION

The entry of the States into Federation involves some complicated adjustments with regard to tribute and ceded territories. There is first the demand for remission of the so-called tributes or subsidies from certain Indian States that are now levied. The total amount of this subsidy is about 76 lakhs of which Mysore pays the largest amount. There is a strong case for the gradual abolition of these subsidies. It was however urged on the other hand by certain other States that the subsidies stood on the same footing as cessions of territory and a few other miscellaneous rights conceded by other Indian States to the British Government as compensation for the duty of military defence undertaken by the British Government. It has also been urged that many Indian States maintained State forces at considerable cost which have been treated as part of the forces of India for purposes of internal defence and therefore allowance should be made in assessing the burden of the State units of the Federation as compared with the Provinces for these items of expenditure. The Joint Select Committee (1934) have endorsed the Report of the Indian States Inquiry Committee (1932) and in particular have approved of the gradual abolition over a period of years of any contribution paid by a State to the Crown which is in excess of the value of the immunities which it enjoys.

At the present time many States derive substantial revenues from customs duties levied at their frontiers on goods entering the State from other parts of India. Internal customs barriers are in principle inconsistent with the freedom of interchange of a fully developed Federation, and it is necessary to substitute other forms of taxation for these internal customs. Accession of a State to the Federation should imply that

it will not set up a barrier to free interchange so formidable as to threaten the future of the Federation. In the case of maritime States which have a right to levy sea customs, they should be allowed to retain only so much of the customs duties which they collect as is properly attributable to dutiable goods consumed in their own State. This may be difficult to arrange in view of existing treaty rights, but if insistence upon these rights by any State would prevent genuine uniformity in customs rates at State ports, and ports of British India, then it is doubtful whether the State in question could properly be admitted to the Federation.

VII

COST OF FEDERATION

The fresh burdens upon the tax-payers as a direct result of the constitutional changes are estimated to be ¾ crore of rupees for the Federal Government and another ¾ crore of rupees for all the Provincial Governments together. These items represent the estimated cost of an increase in the size of legislatures, the establishment of a Federal Court, etc. It is also estimated that there will be an initial deficit in the new province of Sindh of about ¾ crore of rupees of which about 10 lakhs represents the cost of new overhead charges. The remainder represents a deficit which is now met out of the revenues of Bombay. If this is met from Central revenues, it will, in effect relieve Bombay's present financial stringency. Similarly there will be a deficit of about 30 lakhs per annum of which half represents new overhead charges, and half represents relief to the existing government of Bihar and Orissa. As to the other provinces, Bengal's needs will be met mainly by surrender of half the jute export tax by the Federal Government, but Bihar and Assam will require special consideration. According to Sir George Schuster's estimates the total subventions to deficit Provinces will be about £400,000. In addition the Government must adjust its finances to the separation of Burma. Although the separation of Burma will not in itself involve a financial loss to the tax-payers of India and Burma as a whole, the revenues of India will suffer a loss which is estimated to be as much as 3 crores per annum less the yield of any revenue duties on imports from Burma which may be introduced from the date of separation.

The introduction of the States to the Federation will also require certain financial adjustments. These will ultimately lead to net loss to the federal revenues of something less than 1 crore of rupees, but this might be extended over a period of years. The surrender of half the

jute tax has already been provided for in the Budget for 1934; it remains to find about 2 crores, and to make good the loss of revenue from Burma. The Joint Select Committee (1934) however point out that the greatest part of this additional expenditure by the Central Government would have to be met quite apart from constitutional changes for it is impossible that the Provinces should be allowed to run up growing deficits. The Central Government under present depression conditions is paying its way, and setting aside about 2¼ millions annually for debt reduction. The increased revenue required represents only about 1½ per cent. of the present budget, and there are signs of an improvement in tax revenues and State railway receipts. It is clear therefore that financial difficulties cannot be used as a serious argument against Federation.

On the Importance of the Distinction between The Idea-logical and the Idea-Psychological to Berkeley's Metaphysics.

By

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The distinction between idea as image or a mere particular concrete event in an individual consciousness, and idea as signifying an abstract universal meaning is now commonplace in metaphysics. Both Bosanquet and Bradley have, in unmistakable terms, defined the distinction between the *idea-logical* and the *idea-psychological* in their treatises on Logic. Bosanquet says, 'In judging we use ideas, but the ideas which we use are not mere particular mental images, the perishing existences which pass through consciousness, and which *qua* particular psychical states on a level with mere sensations, never recur. . . . ' In judgment ideas are employed solely for the sake of their general signification, and without reference to their particular existence.[1] In a somewhat similar strain, while discussing the nature of ideas as symbols, Bradley draws a distinction between the *that* (or existence) and the *what* (or the content) of an idea.[2] 'These two senses of idea, as the symbol and the symbolised, the image and its meaning, are of course' he says, 'known to all of us. But the reason why I dwell on this obvious distinction is that in much of our thinking it is systematically disregarded.'[3] This disregard is manifest in Locke and Berke-

1. *Logic. Vol. I, p. 68.*

'I shall follow' says Bosanquet in the Introduction to Volume I of his *Logic*, 'Mr. Bradley in using 'idea' for a fixed content or logical meaning, not for the psychical images which pass through the mind and never recur—for the signification, so to speak, of the signal flags, not for the particular flags themselves, whose meaning is not affected if different bits of cloth are used on every occasion.' p. 44.

2. *Principles of Logic,* Vol. I, p. 3.

3. *Principles of Logic,* Vol. I, p. 6.

'In England, at all events, we have lived too long in the psychological attitude. We take it for granted and as a matter of course, that like sensations and emotions, ideas are phenomena. And considering these phenomena as psychical facts, we have tried (with what sucess I will not ask) to distinguish between ideas and sensations. But, intent on this, we have as good as forgotten the way in which

ley also, and the contention of this paper is that the fundamental fallacies in Berkeley's metaphysics take their origin in the illicit identification of *idea-logical* and *idea-psychological*.

The gist of Berkeley's polemic against representationism amounts to a denial of abstract ideas. This denial, which is the corner stone of his subjective idealism, is based upon a false identification of the object of knowledge and the content of presentation.

Berkeley takes Locke as the champion of abstract ideas, and attempts to shatter his arguments. Locke too, like Berkeley, confounds the idea with the presentation, yet unlike Berkeley he admits the possibility of forming abstract ideas.[4] According to him 'the process of abstraction is a process of fixing attention upon those attributes that characterise each of the indefinitely numerous individuals to which a general name is applicable, and ignoring those attributes that characterise only some or one of them.' There is a certain amount of truth in Locke's contention, for through discriminative attention it is possible to obtain a 'general idea' (an idea common to different objects), say of a particular colour red or green, applicable to the several objects attended to, which differ in other qualities, namely, in weight, smell, shape, taste, etc. This type of abstraction or discriminative attention given to the data of the different senses might be conceded even by those who identify the psychical image with the logical meaning; but when from examples of this type one argues to the possibility of general *abstract* ideas, then such arguments may be challenged. Locke appears to use such arguments, and Berkeley challenges him on that account. 'For myself' says Berkeley, 'I find indeed I have a faculty of imagining, or presenting to myself, the ideas of those particular things I have perceived, and of variously compounding and dividing them. . . . . . To be plain, I

logic uses ideas. We have not seen that in judgment no fact is ever just that which it means, or can mean what it is; and we have not learnt that, wherever we have truth or falsehood, it is the signification we use, and not the existence, we never assert the fact in our heads, but something else which that fact stands for. And if an idea were treated as a psychical reality, if it were taken by itself as an actual phenomenon, then it would not represent either truth or falsehood. When we use it in judgment, it must be referred away from itself. If it is not the idea of some existence, then, despite its own emphatic actuality, its content remains but 'a mere idea.' It is a something which, in relation to the reality we mean, is nothing at all.' *Logic*, Vol. I, p. 2.

4. Locke's Essay, Bk. 2. ch. xi, 10 and 11: ch. XXXII, 6f. Bk. 3, chs. iii and 6: Book 4, ch. vii., 9.

own myself able to abstract in one sense, as when I consider some particular parts qualities separated from others, with which, though they are united in some subject, yet it is possible they may really exist without them. But I deny that I can abstract from one another, or conceive separately, those qualities which it is impossible should exist so separated; or that I can frame a general notion, by abstracting from particulars.' [5] The contention here is that a particular sensible quality like green or red which, though occurring in different individuals is yet capable of being a presentation, is real, while an *abstract general idea* like triangularity, which can never be a presentation, is not real.

To understand Berkeley's position with respect to abstract ideas we should note the exact sense in which he is prepared to admit general ideas. 'And here it is to be noted' he says, 'that I do not deny absolutely there are *general ideas*, but only that there are any *abstract general ideas* . . . . an idea, which considered in itself is particular, becomes general by being made to represent or stand for all other particular ideas of the same sort.' [6] But this is exactly what Locke also holds, though he expresses himself in rather ambiguous language, and Berkeley's criticism of Locke loses much of its force when we examine it carefully. The 'significant particular idea' of Berkeley can become significant only when we ascribe general characteristics to it. How do we know 'ideas are of the same sort' unless we can abstract? Berkeley is quietly shifting his ground and is assuming the process of abstraction as we ordinarily understand it. It is a psychological truism that in the simplest act of perception the object perceived is clothed with conceptual significance, as otherwise perception would be impossible. And even the so-called process of perceptual abstraction discussed above, the act of separating off the common element from a number of complex presentations, would never yield a general idea unless the separated component was already an abstraction. If, as Berkeley holds, the object of knowledge is never anything but a presentation, then the disjunctive denotation acquired by a term is evidently the only sense in which the term can be used as an abstract term. But a disjunctive denotation is impossible without an abstract connotation and Berkeley's whole argument merely plays into the hands of his opponents.

In the Introduction to the Principles of Human Knowledge, Berkeley is mainly concerned with refuting the arguments in support of ab-

5. *Introduction to the Principles,* 10.
6. *Principles,* 15.

stract ideas. The most powerful weapon in his armoury is that which shatters the 'generic image.' For an abstract idea to exist it should be possible for us to form a 'composite or generic image,'—an image which has no quality in particular and yet has all the qualities, which is 'all and none of these (qualities) at once.' And as it is manifestly impossible for the mind to entertain such an image, it is consequently impossible for it to frame an abstract idea. In such an argument not only do we detect the fallacious identification mentioned already, but also we find, as Fraser points out, that no account is taken of the intellectual relations necessarily embodied in concrete knowledge and without which experience could not cohere.

The root of the trouble is that Berkeley is constantly shifting his ground from the image to the meaning. In his youthful enthusiasm he was blind to the contradictions involved in his arguments. Later in life he appears to have realised his fault, for in the edition of 'Alciphron' published just before his death the argument against abstract ideas is conspicuous by its absence.

We have so far dealt only with the Introduction. When from the Introduction we pass on to the *Principles*, we find that the very opening sentence of Part I is a striking example of Berkeley's identification of the *idea-logical* and the *idea-psychological* . If the expression '*Ideas*' is taken in the sense of *idea-logical*, as we normally and with justification should, then his statement 'it is evident to any one who takes a survey of the *objects of human knowledge*, that they are either ideas etc. . . . .' is true. But if we interpret 'idea' in the sense of *idea-psychological* then the contention of the opening paragraph is absolutely false.

A question might arise here as to why we should introduce an unnecessary confusion when the meaning is so plain. True; but when we go to the second paragraph we find Berkeley declaring that by 'idea' he means the '*idea-psychological.*' 'The existence of an idea consists in being perceived.' In the fourth paragraph he says emphatically, 'For, what are the forementioned objects but the things we perceive by sense? and what do we perceive besides our own ideas or sensations? and is it not plainly repugnant that any one of these, or any combination of them, should exist unperceived?' Again in the seventh paragraph he declares, '. . . . . . for to have an idea is all one as to perceive; that therefore wherein colour, figure, and the like qualities exist must perceive them.' The result of the stand which Berkeley takes in these paragraphs, is that his basic argument against the materialists—that thinghood is not something superadded to the qualities, but is merely the qualities organised into a unity—loses its cogency, because he does not distinguish between qualities and sensations.

The point that we have been attempting to drive home is further emphasised in the eighth paragraph wherein Berkeley is arguing against representationism. 'But, say you, though the ideas themselves do not exist without the mind, yet there may be things like them, whereof they are copies or resemblances; which things exist without the mind in an unthinking substance.' Representationism avers that the mind knows only its ideas no doubt, but these ideas *represent* what is quite unlike the mind. But Berkeley points out that 'an idea can be like nothing but an Idea.' If this statement of his is to be interpreted aright, it is necessary to note that the *idea-logical* is very different from the *idea-psychological*. The *idea-logical,* the object of knowledge is the *real thing,* and the *idea-psychological* can represent it without being like it. But if we abolish the distinction between the *idea-logical* and the *idea-psychological* as Berkeley would have us abolish, then the argument loses its significance.

In the succeeding paragraphs (9-15) Berkeley is arguing against the existence of the so-called primary qualities independently of the mind. 'Let any one consider those arguments which are thought manifestly to prove that colours and tastes exist only in the mind, and he shall find they may with equal force be brought to prove the same thing of extension, figure and motion.'[7] The argument from relativity, which is used by the scientist with such force against the objective existence of qualities which are perceived with a single sense, can, with equal force, be used against those that are apprehended by the mind through more senses than one. In using such an argument for disproving the objective existence of primary qualities Berkeley introduces a point which is of great importance to us. Dependence of a quality on the mind is proved by the fact of its 'being entirely relative and changing as the frame or position of the organs of sense varies.' A quality (size for example) changes with the change in the sense organ perceiving it. Yet we are able to identify it as the same quality belonging to a particular object, because through the varying *idea-psychological* the *idea-logical* persists informing us of the identity of the object presented in the ever changing image. And the *idea-logical* involves relations cognised by the mind. Not only does relation involve abstraction (denied by Berkeley), but it can be presented in a particular term and particular term alone. Now if the quality be identified with the sensation by which the quality is perceived, if the *idea-logical* be identified with the *idea-psychological,*

7. In the previous paragraph Berkeley had attempted to prove that simple introspection is enough to establish that ideas are inactive in themselves.

then there is no room for relations in the latter, and Berkeley's arguments can be easily turned against himself.

A very significant difficulty arising out of the unjustifiable identification of the *idea-logical* with the *idea-psychological* is manifest in the next section of the first part of Berkeley's *Principles*. *Thing* has been defined by our author as constituted by a group of ideas, and as an idea is merely a presentation (or *idea-psychological*) and is inactive, Berkeley has to explain how a significant unity of qualities is constituted out of inactive images, and what it is that produces and determines the order of change or succession in them. In the twenty-sixth paragraph of the *Principles* Berkeley says, 'We perceive a continual succession of ideas; some are anew excited, others are changed or totally disappear. There is therefore, some *cause* of these ideas, whereon they depend, and which produces and changes them. That this cause cannot be any quality or idea or combination of ideas, is clear from the preceding section.[7] It must therefore be a *substance*; but it has been shown that there is no corporeal or material substance; it remains therefore that the cause of ideas is an incorporeal active substance or Spirit.' Berkeley gets out of the difficulty neatly by postulating 'Spirit' as the cause of ideas. But if he had recognised that an idea in consciousness is not a mere inactive presentation, but is the result of an active interpretation of the presented datum, then the path through the metaphysical maze which he is threading would have been much smoother.

The term 'notion' has a very peculiar connotation in Berkeley, and the distinction between 'Idea' and 'notion' is of first-rate importance to his system. " . . . . . . we have some *notion* of soul, spirit, and the operations of the mind, such as willing, loving, hating—"[8] "we may be said to have some knowledge or *notion* of our own minds, of spirits and active beings; whereof in a strict sense we have not *ideas*. In like manner, we know and have a *notion* of relations between things or ideas; which relations are distinct from the ideas or things related, inasmuch as the latter may be perceived by us without our perceiving the former."[9] "We may not, I think, strictly be said to have an *idea* of an active being, or of an action; although we may be said to have a *notion* of them. . . . . It is also to be remarked that all relations including an act of mind, we cannot so properly be said to have an

8. *Principles*, 27.
9. *Ibid*, 89.

idea, but rather a *notion* of the relations and habitudes between things." [10]

It is significant that these sentences which define the connotation of " notion " are not to be found in the first edition of the *Principles*. By the time the second edition was published, Berkeley had come to see clearly the implications of his stand-point, and introduced the definition of " notion " and drew the distinction between " idea " and " notion " to make his position plain. In the strictest sense " notion " is the apprehension of the Ego. It also signifies the intelligence of relations. Berkeley is now coming to realise the importance of the part played by the idea-psychological in the understanding. Besides, and this is the point to which we wish to draw special attention, in the fifth and twenty-fifth paragraphs Berkeley uses the expression " notion " in rather a vague sense. " Light and colours, heat and cold, extension and figures—in a word things we see and feel—what are they but so many sensations, *notions*, ideas or impressions on the sense ? " [11] " All our ideas, sensations, *notions*, or the things we perceive, by whatsoever names they may be distinguished, are visibly inactive." [12] Fraser holds that notions and ideas mean the same in these contexts. Our contention is that even while preparing his manuscripts for the first edition Berkeley was aware of the apprehension of ' relations ' by the mind and that he could not but introduce a separate word to indicate his meaning. That he speaks of extension and figure is sufficient indication of the fact that he had a suspicion at the back of his mind of the rôle of the *idea-logical* in the faculty of understanding.

In conclusion, we hold that the entire structure of Berkeley's metaphysics (including his doctrine of abstract ideas and the dictum *esse* is *percipi*) is based upon a false foundation—the unjustifiable identification of the *idea-logical* with the *idea-psychological*—. If he had only drawn the distinction clearly between image and meaning he could have presented us with an idealism purged of the several defects besetting the type of subjective idealism championed by him.

10. *Ibid*, 142.
11 and 12. These sentences occur in the first edition of the *Principles* also.

The Problem of Rural Indebtedness

By

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I

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF AGRICULTURISTS.

The low standard of living to which the mass of India's population attain is one of the first things that strike a western visitor. Wants are few, diet is simple, climate is usually kind and a deep-rooted tradition tends to make the country content with things as they are. But the depth of the poverty, the pervading presence of which cannot escape notice, is not so easily realised.

—*Simon Commission Report.*

1. The ever present theme of Indian rural economy is the appalling poverty of the people. Economists and observers both foreign and Indian have testified to the growing poverty of the vast mass of India's population that lives and labours in their thousands in the villages of India. The Central Banking Enquiry Committee has estimated the average income of an agriculturist in British India at about Rs. 42 or a little over £ 3 a year. The Simon Commission note that if we compare this income with the average income per head in England (£ 95 in 1922) even allowing for the different standards of life the contrast is striking. This view is more than corroborated by statistical evidence.

2. The average income per head of the Indian Agriculturist can be arrived at by subtracting from the gross value of the produce the cost of cultivation, land revenue and payments of interest etc., and dividing it by the total number of persons dependent on land. The gross value of the crops of the Madras Presidency in 1928-29 has been estimated at about Rs. 165 crores. Out of this, cost of cultivation and revenue assessment would have consumed nearly Rs. 70 crores and Rs. 8 crores respectively. The volume of rural indebtedness was estimated at Rs. 150 crores. If interest payment at an average rate of 12% per annum which will amount to Rs. 18 crores is taken to have been paid, then, only Rs. 69 crores would have remained for the maintenance and other purposes of farmers. Taking income from other sources to have been Rs. 11 crores, the amount available for the forty millions of the rural popula-

tion for their living must be Rs. 80 crores. This shows a net income per head of Rs. 20 per annum. As prices have gone down nearly by 47% and the gross produce has not shown any signs of increase, the gross value of the crops in 1933-1934 would be Rs. 87.45 crores. The cost of production has not fallen in the wet areas so much as in the dry. Granting a reduction in the cost of cultivation of about Rs. 20 crores the present cost will be Rs. 50 crores. The revenue assessment is Rs. 7 crores. Taking it for granted that the debt remained stationary and no interest was paid during the period of depression, the amount at the disposal of the forty millions will be Rs. 30.45 crores or a per capita income of Rs. 7.6. No doubt this income is supplemented by the wages earned by the labourers. But even this cannot exceed an additional Rs. 5. per head.

3. It is clear, therefore, that the agricultural classes who form more than 70% of our population are exceedingly poor. The gloom of poverty is only deepened by the disheartening conditions under which they labour. The holding of the average cultivator in India is too small to enable him to live in comfort on its yield. Poor and illiterate, half fed and ill-clad the Indian peasant works at his fields with cattle even more famished than himself at tasks which have become mechanical by the custom of centuries. Even under the enlightened and benevolent government of the day he is too much sunk in troubles and sorrows to dream of improved methods of agriculture or scientific manuring. Hungry and famished almost all the days of the year he easily falls a prey to disease and even the toil of his weakened hands is not enough to save him from the ravages of droughts, floods and pests. What the mercy of nature spares the money-lender is ready to filch away. When compared to other countries the yield per acre in India is ludicrously low and little attention is paid to scientific manuring and improved methods of cultivation. The consequence is that the average cultivator still continues to live on an insufficiency of food which impairs his physical capacity for work and largely accounts for the high percentage of mortality in the country. The Central Banking Enquiry Committee says that "these conditions cannot be wholly ascribed to an undue increase in population and consequent pressure on land. Nor can the low productivity be justly ascribed to the inefficiency or ignorance of the Indian cultivator. The standard of inherited skill in husbandry of the Indian cultivator is high, but the farmers of other countries are undoubtedly in a position of greater advantage in as much as they are aided by the discoveries of scientific research made available to them by an enlightened state policy in regard to agriculture". As Darling points out in his book 'The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt', the amount spent on agriculture by the Central and Provincial Governments stands no comparison with that of

other countries. In 1924-1925 the Central and Provincial Governments in India spent Rs. 34 per thousand of population and Rs. 30 per thousand acres cultivated whereas in the United States of America the amount spent in 1919-1920 was Rs. 1,020 and Rs. 210, in the United Kingdom Rs. 960 and Rs. 1,380 in 1921, in Germany Rs. 945 and Rs. 705 in 1910 and in Italy Rs. 265 and Rs. 184 in 1925-1926.

4. The causes for this state of things have been gone into by the Committee appointed by the Madras Government to investigate into the "Economic conditions of the Agriculturists in certain Districts" and have been endorsed by the Central Banking Enquiry Committee with certain additional remarks. "(i) While population has increased extension of cultivation has not kept pace with it. (ii) No improvement in the condition of unemployment of agricultural labour has taken place. (iii) There is an increase in the fragmentation of holdings while the average area of holdings has gone down. (iv) The indebtedness of the agricultural population is heavy, hampers cultivation and reduces incomes. (v) Various causes bring about a rapid change of hands of lands and ryots are unable to repay their debts except by the sale of their lands. (vi) The margins available for the maintenance of the cultivator's family after paying the assessments, are either inadequate or nil. While a few rich people get richer, and a small number remain on the margin of subsistence, the majority are running into debt and losing their hold on land which is frequently changing hands. (vii) The system of Land Revenue is based too much on *averages*. The inelasticity of the system leads to low production and indebtedness. It is antiquated, and is not in keeping with the trend of land revenue policy in civilised countries."

Land Revenue in India is much heavier in its incidence than other taxes. In the recent years of depression the incidence of taxation has been heavier and the poverty of the people greater as is shown by the working of the Revenue Department. The frequent resort to coercive measures for the recovery of its due in recent years is an index of the growing distress of the people. The following are the figures for South Arcot District:—

Year.	Notice of demand.	Notice of distraint or attachment.	Sale. notices.	Sales: No. of defaulters.
1927-28	18,480	16,145	13,008	1,407
1928-29	19,933	13,299	12,468	592
1929-30	21,523	10,538	8,907	932
1930-31	36,127	27,314	16,702	1,092
1931-32	36,046	23,885	19,434	3,391

There has been a noticeable increase in the number of coercive processes issued for the realisation of the revenue demand. Whereas in 1927-1928 the number of demand notices, of distraint and sale notices were 18,480, 16,145, and 13,008 respectively, in 1931-1932 they were 36,046, 23,885, and 19,434. One can very well realise the rigour and the stringency with which the authorities enforced their claims at a time when the ryots were hard pressed for ready cash. The number of defaulters whose property was sold in the last two years was 1,082 and 3,391. The percentage of attachments of real property was on the increase. From 6.6% in Fasli 1325 it has increased to 16.6% in Fasli 1341. In Fasli 1341 the amount of arrears was Rs. 16,420. The fact that immovable property to the value of Rs. 1,25,579 was sold for Rs. 12,319 to realise the arrears in Revenue of Rs. 16,420 is proof positive of the utter helplessness of the ryots who could not but let slip their lands as they had no means of finding the necessary money where-with to pay their dues. No ryot, if he could help it would allow himself to be deprived of his land for a fraction of its value. So proverbially attached is the Indian ryot to land that he would have parted with anything if he could only retain his land.

5. The Central Banking Enquiry Committee hold that this state of things is the resultant of a few more contributory causes. Not least important among them are the comparatively small spread of literacy, extravagance of social habits, lack of opportunities for fuller life and for initiative and enterprise and absence of definite and large scale action by Government or people for the uplift and betterment of the agricultural classes. The steep fall in prices of agricultural produce in recent years (about 50%) has only served to intensify the suffering and distress of the peasants.

6. Another handicap which the Indian agriculturist labours under is the absence of large scale selling organisations and lack of marketing facilities. Without any organisation to support him and with next to no credit the Indian agriculturist is unable to get a fair price when he deals with the giant buying organisations of European nations. Illiterate and single-handed the Indian cultivator is unable to stand up to foreign capitalists and secure a square deal. The disorganised condition of the cultivators which in certain cases is accentuated by the presence of powerful organisations of buyers, and the lack of proper credit facilities enabling them to hold on to their crops in times of plenty, often prevent them in India from obtaining a fair price for their produce.

7. The amelioration of the condition of the agriculturist cannot be effected by the pursuit of any single method. It is wrong to suppose that in an easily obtainable credit alone lies the panacea for all the ills, from

which the Indian agriculturist suffers to-day. A complete programme of rural development must aim at measures that would make agriculture a paying industry. At present, 'in India agriculture is, with most cultivators, with uneconomic holdings more a mode of living than a business.' The following words of the Royal Commission on agriculture hold good even to-day: 'To a very great extent the cultivator in India labours not for profit nor for a net return but for subsistence.' The existing impediments to efficient production must be removed. The fiscal organisation of the country should be so arranged as to benefit agriculture particularly by means of subsidies and tariffs. The lightening of the burden of taxation and the economic organisation of the industry and in particular, development among farmers of better methods of purchase and sale and co-operative insurance will go a long way to better their condition. Not the least important of all is the organisation of the transport of the country with due regard to the interests of agriculture.

II.

THE PROBLEM OF RURAL INDEBTEDNESS.

(With Special reference to the Madras Presidency)

1. The central fact of the Indian economic situation is the poverty of the agriculturist, and the extent of his indebtedness is an unmistakable index of his growing penury. The spectre of debt has grown very much in proportions during recent years of a world-wide slump in trade and an unexampled fall in the price of agricultural produce and no scheme for bringing back prosperity to agriculture can afford to neglect the growing incubus of debt that lies heavy on the Indian peasant. A few years ago the Central Banking Enquiry Committee estimated the volume of indebtedness for the whole of India at Rs. 900 crores and for Madras at Rs. 150 crores. It is beyond doubt that the volume of debt could not have gone down during these years of depression. As the debt position of Madras in 1929 was estimated at Rs. 150 crores, the interest charge on an average at 12% per annum would come to Rs. 18 crores. Since, during the period of depression, the cultivators were struggling hard to make both ends meet, interest payments or repayments of capital—if at all there were any—would have been very slight. On the other hand fresh borrowings are to be found as a result of agriculture becoming completely a non-paying concern. The repayments of the principal and the fresh borrowings, even according to the most modest estimates, could be taken to balance each other. So the volume of debt should have increased at least to the extent of the non-repaid portion of the interest charges. For the past five years the interest charges would amount to Rs. 90 crores of which, even allowing

Rs. 40 crores for the repaid portion, at least Rs. 50 crores could not have been repaid. So even according to very modest estimates the present volume of indebtedness of our province would come to about Rs. 200 crores. With the 47% fall in prices the real burden would be nearly Rs. 300 crores. (The fall in prices has affected the pre-depression debt only). Thus we are able to see that the burden of indebtedness to-day is roughly two times heavier than what it was in 1928-29. If this state of affairs is permitted to continue for some more years the Indian agriculturist will be completely ruined. Since agriculturists form more than 70% of the total population the miserable position of the agriculturist will react on the prosperity of the nation as a whole.

2. Having regard to the vital importance of the problem to all schemes of amelioration it is necessary to gauge its origin and extent before turning one's attention to the methods of eradicating it. Sir Frederick Nicholson summarises thus with approval the findings in regard to the causes of agricultural indebtedness of the Commission appointed to investigate the causes of the agrarian riots in the Deccan in 1875:—

"First, poverty with unproductive soil, precarious climate and irregularity of income,

Second, ignorance and improvidence,

Third, extravagance,

Fourth, ancestral debt,

Fifth, expansion of credit,

Sixth, increase of population without corresponding increase of return,

Seventh, facilities for borrowing owing to influence of money-lenders,

Eighth, the limitation laws as leading to renewals on usurious terms including compound interest and,

Ninth, revenue system of a fixed demand."

The root cause of the problem is not so much the extravagance of the expenditure as the extreme insufficiency of income. This state of things is due to the smallness of holdings, inefficient methods of production and marketing, frequent failure of crops and loss of cattle. There is barely an acre per head of the total agricultural population; for there are only 4½ acres for every cultivating family of about five or six members on an average. As most of the Indian agriculturists are, "born in debt, live in debt, die in debt and bequeath debt," the weight of ancestral debt is too much. Whether the ryot has got property enough to pay off the ancestral debt or not, he feels that he is bound to repay all his ancestral

debts. The idea of escaping payment of ones debts by declaring oneself insolvent is repugnant to peasant sentiment. The agriculturist has a deep rooted feeling that money once borrowed must be repaid even at the cost of his own existence. For example while conducting personal enquiries in certain villages we met some agricultural labourers who were involved very deeply in debt. When the suggestion of renouncing their claims and seeking some other job somewhere else was made they emphatically replied that on no account their conscience would permit them to do that; for, they feared damnation in the other world.

3. A close observation of the working of the credit machinery in rural areas reveals it to be remorseless in its operation and devastating in its result. Usually some man who has command of ready cash starts lending it in small amounts to the agriculturists relying on their position in the village and their general standing. The rate of interest varies from 12 to 24% and even small sums tend to mount up in the course of a few years since the interest is often added on to the capital every year. When the amount has thus gone up the money-lender gets it secured on the peasant's property. The peasant always lives on the margin of starvation and is able to eke out a livelihood only after incredible labours. If the harvest is bad the only way in which he can continue is by borrowing. It is a fallacy to think that to the average peasant there is a surplus in a prosperous year which he can utilise in a year of bad harvest. Seasonal fluctuations and scarcity so frequent in India only tend to increase borrowings and eliminate all chances of repayment by the peasant of his debt. So the lender gets a sale of the peasant's lands and gradually turns into a ryot money-lender as a result of his getting lands in return for the amount due to him. In the case of landless men to whom he advances money he secures an agreement by which the peasants work for him till the amount they have borrowed is returned with interest. When the labourers struggle hard even for their maintenance the chances of repaying the loan are small indeed. This debt is bequeathed from father to son and slowly the whole family sinks into a torpor of semi-slavery. Helpless and hopeless they are at the mercy of the ryot money-lender for whom they work more and are paid less.

4. The average peasant's income is meagre because of the extreme smallness of holdings, the adoption of primitive methods of agriculture, the heavy burden of land revenue and above all the difficulties of a period of great economic depression. The agriculturist who is always leading a miserable life would try to lead a better life at least in one or two years when he gets a tolerably good yield. We cannot call this the extravagance of the peasants alone. It is only a part of human nature as a whole. In addition to the abovementioned factors the frequent loss of

cattle also goes to swell the debts of the peasant. Even more important is the lack of proper marketing facilities. 'In the first place his holding is often so small that, after keeping back what is required for consumption and for seed there does not remain enough of any particular product to make it worth while to take it to a distance. In many parts of the country the transport conditions act as a further deterrant. If, as often, the cultivator has to drive his bullocks for miles across cultivated land and along rough tracks to reach a metalled road he will prefer to sell his produce in the village market. Even when he can more easily reach the wholesale market he is out of his element. He is liable to find even the weights and measures confusing and still more so the numerous exactions and deductions of middlemen. On the whole the ordinary peasant cultivator finds that it suits him better to retail his produce on the village market where he can obtain his own simple requirements in exchange. If he has surplus quantities of wheat, rice, oilseeds, etc his need of immediate cash will usually make it better worth his while to dispose of them, even at a discount, to the itinerant traders who buy up such surpluses from village to village and finally take the produce to the wholesale market where they know how to make their profit." (Ref. Agricultural situation in 1932-33 of the International Institute of Agriculture.) The lack of other sources of income plays no mean part in making the income of the agriculturist very small.

5. Next in order of the causes that contribute to agricultural indebtedness are 'ignorance and improvidence'. Even the Central Banking Enquiry Committee has recognised the higher standard of inherited skill in husbandry of the Indian cultivators. But the number of troubles and sorrows born of ignorance and illiteracy is legion. Nothing will minimise the exactions of money-lenders and prevent perpetual exploitation of the people by minor tyrants and swindlers than the spread of literacy. There cannot be even the shadow of a doubt that with the proper kind of education the economic condition of the people will be greatly improved. The Indian cultivator is too often accused of extravagance. Much emphasis has been laid on the wastage of money on ceremonials and festivals. Normally marriages and other festive occasions come only at long intervals. These are the only times in which the cultivator can have some enjoyment. The peasant who is in most cases forced to lead a hand to mouth existence throughout his life, wants at least some diversions. He is even prepared to sacrifice his freedom for the sake of that enjoyment which breaks the dull monotony of his existence. Though there are some cases in which much of extravagance is present, it would not be correct to say that the cultivators in general are extravagant. The burden of this portion of the debt is not much when compared with others. The reduction of expenses on marriage

and other festive items by the cultivators during the period of depression goes to prove that they are not indifferent to the realities. They try all available means to minimise their expenses. Thus we see that much emphasis need not be laid on this cause alone.

6. Another important factor which contributes to the volume of indebtedness is the want of cheap credit facilities. "If the genesis of debt is in insufficient income and unexpected happenings its rapid growth is largely due to the accumulation of interest." Mortgage debts, in our presidency, carry on an average not more than 12% interest. But interest rates on unsecured loans vary between 6% and 24%, though there may be stray cases of higher interest rates. The average interest rate comes to about 18%. The Chettiar Bankers and Marwaris in some places, demand a nominally low rate; but when calculated the rates will come to 36 to 40%. In brief the interest charges cover more than 20% of the total gross production of the presidency. The frequent renewals of notes with interest added to them lead to the quick increase of the volume of indebtedness. The demand of compound interest in many cases still further aggravates the situation. To point out an example, there was a case where the amount borrowed was Rs. 40. In a period of 20 years the debtor was made to pay Rs. 360 for which he had to dispose of his only house. Thus the evil effects of the higher rates of interest and the exaction of compound interest should attract, first, the attention of any one who studies the condition of rural India.

7. The inadequacy of easy credit is also a very important factor which has gone to swell up the volume of rural indebtedness in this country. It has long been recognised that the short term and long term credit needs of the agriculturist are not sufficiently met by existing agencies. In spite of the development of Co-operative Societies and inspite of the opening of a hundred new branches of the Imperial Bank of India the modern banking system has made little headway in India. The commercial Banks and the Imperial Bank have only touched the fringe of the problem of Indian credit. The Central Land Mortgage Bank of our Presidency had on 30-6-1934, 190 individual members and 63 primary banks affiliated to it. In 1925 there were only two registered Land Mortgage Banks while in June 1927 there were ten. In spite of the rapid strides which this movement has taken in recent years, they are not able to solve the problem of long term credit fully. The Central Land Mortgage Bank has till 30-6-1934 disbursed loans to the extent of Rs. 35 lakhs only, or, in other words the Land Mortgage Banks have taken over only 0.175% of the total rural debt which is estimated at Rs. 200 crores. This is no more than a mere drop in the ocean. Hence more than 90% of rural credit is in the hands of the indigenous banker and the ryot money-lender. The very high rates of interest charged by

these agencies, the very insignificant part that is played by the commercial banks and the Imperial Bank and the negligibly inferior position taken by the Land Mortgage Banks in supplying the long term credit needs of the agriculturists have all tended to a restriction of credit for the Indian cultivator.

8. The great volume of indebtedness whose evil effects have been intensified by the above causes tells heavily on the agriculturist. The menace of indebtedness brings in much economic, social and moral consequences. Debts lead directly to agricultural inefficiency. A cultivator who is deeply immersed in debt is indifferent to and impotent for using improved methods of cultivation. The incentive to work intensively is withdrawn. Moreover, as already pointed out, debt prevents the cultivator from securing proper prices for his produce. Pressed by the creditors who more often have got a share in the marketing of the produce, the debtors are forced to sell their crops without waiting for suitable prices. Thus debt forces the cultivator to receive a lower rate of income than his due. This reduced income which is still further diminished by the payment of interest or repayment of principal, leads to the inefficiency of the cultivator.

9. Another effect of indebtedness is loss of property. Unless exceptional circumstances intervene, mortgages generally end in sale. In this way land is frequently changing hands. The view that the frequent change of land-ownership is beneficial cannot be endorsed, at least as regards our Presidency. Whenever land changes hands it generally goes into the hands of a rich mirasdar or an absentee landlord or a money-lender. This leads to the evils of absentee landlordism and loss to the ranks of peasant proprietors. As Arthur Young puts it, "the magic of private property turns sand into gold." So the loss of peasant proprietors is a serious menace to be tackled with immediately. In 1921, for every thousand ordinary cultivators, there were only 291 farm servants and field labourers, whereas in 1931 the proportion of labourers was found to have increased to 407 for every thousand cultivators.

10. The worst evil of indebtedness is that it leads in many cases to servitude. The Pannaiyal system of the Madras Presidency, whatever may be its virtue has got its own defects. A labourer who borrows a small sum, say Rs. 50, to celebrate a marriage or a funeral, has in turn to work for the lender, receiving a bare pittance for his livelihood. He can never be expected to save up the amount needed and so the transaction becomes an indenture for life and in most cases for generations too. Thus on all sides the burden of indebtedness weighs heavily on the cultivators and produces many harmful results. It is a cancer which eats into the vitals of the agricultural population, nay the population of India as a whole.

III

A STUDY OF FIFTY FAMILY BUDGETS.

1. The correctness of the general statements made in the previous chapters is conclusively proved by the result of an investigation which the present writers undertook in January 1935. An intensive study was made of fifty family budgets belonging to the Sivapuri and Gavarpet villages of the Chidambaram Taluk.

2. The total strength of these families is 245. Of this only four families are completely free from debt. The total amount of debts of the remaining forty-six families is Rs. 44,129-8-0. This works out on an average to a debt of Rs. 882-6-0. per family of five and to a debt per capita of Rs. 180. The position of debt according to the number of years for which it has been due is as follows:—

One year old debt	Rs. 10,345	forming	23.44%	of the whole
Two	,,	4,625	,,	10.48%	,,
Three	,,	8,100	,,	18.35%	,,
Four	,,	640	,,	1.46%	,,
Five	,,	800	,,	1.81%	,,
Six	,,	4,219	,,	9.56%	,,
Seven	,,	25	,,	.06%	,,
Eight	,,	2,900	,,	6.57%	,,
Ten	,,	1,950	,,	4.42%	,,
Eleven	,	300	,,	0.68%	,,
Twelve	,,	100	,,	0.23%	,,
Fifteen	,,	4,100	,,	9.29%	,,

The current interest due is Rs. 6,025.5—13.65%.

The amount of debt incurred according to each cause and the percentage which that bears to the whole is given below:—

Causes.		Amount. of Rs.	Percentage.
Maintenance	..	4,925	11.16
Purchase of lands	..	9,900	22.43
Agricultural improvements	..	2,960	6.71
Purchases of cattle	..	460	1.04
Land Revenue	..	690	1.56
Liquidation of old debts	..	10,450	23.68
Marriage and Funeral	..	3,705	8.04
Education	..	2,700	6.12
Interest payments	..	850	1.93
Medical	..	169	0.39
Current interest due	..	6,025	12.65
Miscellaneous	..	1,295	2.93

3. Let us now try to analyse the nature of the debts as revealed by the above figures. Among the causes that lead to borrowing, agricultural activities naturally take the foremost place covering about 31.74%. Ancestral debt comes next in importance with 23.68%. The third rank is taken up by the exorbitant interest charges which come to 15.58%. They even outstrip in extent the debts that the cultivators are forced to contract for preserving even their present meagre standard of living. While thus the interest charges due to-day form not an unimportant portion of the debt burden, it has also to be borne in mind that a good portion of the interest must have been paid as they came due at least in the years before the depression. Thus it is clear that the burden of interest charges is pressing heavily on the cultivators. It is impossible to improve the condition of the agriculturist without a relaxation of this disproportionate interest burden. Next come marriage and funeral expenses a factor which has been over-emphasised for a long time, since it covers only 8.40% of the whole debt. It has long been the fashion to condemn the Indian agriculturists on the score that they have been incurring much debt on festive occasions. When one sees the real position it is easy to judge that the marriage and other ceremonial expenses entail only a less amount of debt than other causes. It is high time to change our opinion and to go into the real problem which affects the cultivators most. Insufficiency of income coupled with too dear a credit is steadily driving the cultivator to an impossible position. The amount represented as having been spent on education is that incurred by only one family. The statement made by the Central Banking Enquiry Committee that "to a very great extent the cultivator in India labours not for a profit nor for a net return but for subsistence" has been more than proved by the study of the above budgets. An analysis of the borrowing will make clear that the agriculturists' income is insufficient even for carrying on the work of cultivation not to speak of the liquidation of debts, interest payments and other charges.

4. The figures given above throw in addition an interesting side-light on the effect of the recent economic depression on the agricultural classes. The sufferings of the agriculturists are clearly indicated by the steady growth of the debt burden during the period of depression (1930-34). Debts incurred during this period account for 64.54% of the total debts. If to these are added the current interest charges we see that the real debt burden of the depression period is 78.19% of the total debts.

5. Our investigation gave us also an inkling into the real nature of the rural credit system that now holds the field. Nominally the ratio of interest charged varies between 6% and 24%. But in reality the rate is

much higher since the notes and bonds are frequently renewed when the interest is added to the principal and thus a kind of compound interest is collected. We also found that the landless labourers were much more hard pressed by the alien banker than by the ryot money-lenders who follow the Pannaiyal system. In Sivapuri there is a banker who has come to own a large amount of land simply because of his money dealings. This banker has given on loan very small sums of money to the labourers at a nominal charge of 24%. The labourers are bound to work on the tobacco fields owned by the banker at a fixed rate of monthly wages for a period not exceeding six months. During the rest of the year they seek employment outside and return to the tobacco fields during the next season. From a monthly wage of Rs. 7 or 8 a certain percentage is deducted for interest charges. The remaining amount is given partly in cash and partly in kind of an inferior sort. As interest charges will be deducted only for six months the rest of them are added to the capital at the beginning of the next year and a fresh bond is got for the total amount. Thus the debt increases by leaps and bounds year after year while the labourer becomes a perpetual slave of the banker. When once a free labourer begins to borrow even a small sum of Rs. 50 from the banker his fate is sealed. This is merely an exploitation of the needy and ignorant agricultural labourer. On the other hand the labourers under ryot landlords are in a better position. Though here also there exists a sort of slavery yet the labourers do not feel their position so much. The landlord employs him throughout the year, though with a small remuneration. Constancy of employment is thus afforded. Further the landlord does not generally charge any interest on the amount which he has lent to his labourers so long as they serve under him. Besides, the gratuities which the poor labourer receives from his master are of a substantial amount. Thus the landless agricultural labourers feel the burden of a debt less in the case of ryot-masters than in the case of bankers. In short the change of ownership of land from peasant cultivators to the non-agricultural population serves only to aggravate the burden of indebtedness of the landless agricultural labourers.

IV.

LEGISLATION IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND IN INDIA.

1. A study of the attempts made to solve the problem of agricultural debts in other countries and in our own country in the past would be a guidance for the future. In this chapter a brief survey of the legislative measures undertaken in various countries with a view to bettering the conditions of the cultivator is attempted specially bearing in

mind the question of rural indebtedness. Before proceeding to individual countries we can generalise that in spite of its imposing heavy sacrifices on the state, considering the favourable influence which it would have on the national economy, in almost all countries legislation has been carried in one form or other, "aiming at the strengthening of the material condition of the farmer by extending credit, by fiscal facilities, by measures for the relief of indebtedness, by the artificial maintenance of the price of the principal agricultural products above the level of prices on the free market and by the encouragement of export."

2. In Bulgaria, by the Law of 1933 relief in regard to the payment of debts contracted upto 1931 is given. Relief is granted both by the credit institutions dependent on the State and the private banks and by the State itself, through the departments and through the communes in the case of debts of a fiscal nature. Broadly viewing, the relief consists in the postponement of payments for a period up to 10 years or, in exceptional cases up to 15 years, the reduction of interest rate to 6%, the postponement of payments for the amortisation of debts contracted not more than two years before, and most important of all the reduction of all the debts in proportion to their increase as the result of excessive rates of interest.

3. Czechoslovakia also adopts a similar method. By the Decree of 29th July 1933 the property of a person to whom agriculture is the sole means of livelihood cannot be placed in a state of bankruptcy on the application of a creditor except in certain special cases expressly determined by the Decree.

4. The Government of Denmark passed a law in 1933 which facilitates the conversion of loans granted by mortgage credit societies to a lower rate of interest. In order to make this conversion possible and to provide for increased fluidity as well as normal credit grants and a lower rate of interest, a fund amounting to 200 million crowns was credited in May 1933 by the Law establishing a Crisis Fund.

5. The Estonian Government undertook the following measures. By the Law of 10th November 1932 the rate of interest on loans granted by the Land Bank was reduced to 2½%. A Law of May 1933 made it possible to obtain private loans transferred compulsorily into long term loans, up to a total amount of 6 millions of Estonian Crowns, (i) when the farmer in question has up to then cultivated his lands rationally, (ii) when the indebtedness was incurred before 1932 and (iii) when the total amounts of the debts is neither less than 20% below nor more than 100% above the total amount of the land value of the farm as estimated by the

Land Bank. These private loans are paid to the private creditors in equal parts out of the Colonisation Fund in the course of ten years, while the farmers, on their part, have to repay their loans to the Land Banks in the course of thirty years.

6. Debt relief measures in French Indo China, have as their object the lightening of debts of agriculture and take the form of mortgage loans at a low rate of interest and of the creation of a colonisation office the mission of which is to buy up property sold by judicial process and to give to honest debtors hire-purchase agreements to enable them to recover by their labour the ownership of their holdings.

7. In Germany a comprehensive scheme is working. To prevent the heavily indebted farmers from throwing on the market crops at ruinous prices, financing of a suitable nature was aimed at. Under the auspices of the Reich Bank loans on the pledge of grains were facilitated and rendered possible, and also to a large extent, by the establishment of legal and commercial grades for cereals. Recently many measures have been passed including "the establishment of a procedure of mediation for the settlement of debts in agriculture, the development and unification of the protection against distraint and of the protection of the tenant farmers, the facilities given for the payment of interest on agricultural mortgage debts, and lastly the law of June 1933 on the settlement of agricultural indebtedness with a possibility of reducing the debts and lowering the rate of interest."

8. The temporary suspension of the forced sale of property of agricultural debtors was permitted by the Government of Greece. All agricultural debts were compulsorily listed. All of them due both to the State and to the private individuals were reduced by 30 to 50%. Easy repayment of debts was facilitated by the dues being spread over a longer period.

9. In Hungary in order that the result of the productive work of the farmers may not be destroyed by distraint and that the farmers may not easily be dispossessed of their lands as a result of forced sales by auction, the Government granted to the farmers a postponement of four months during which the measures for the recovery of their debts are subject to a certain limitation. Another Decree of 1932 provides for the prolongation by a year of the extension of time granted to farmers whose capacity has grown less, i.e., practically all the farmers. During this period provided the farmer pays the current interest the annual amortisation charges that have become due and the current taxes no further costs of proceedings, or of execution can be charged against him. No

application can be made for the sale by auction of his lands. Moreover the interest payable by farmers on mortgage loans, whatever may be the extent of their indebtedness, is reduced from 7½% or 7% to 5%. Measures have also been taken to lighten the charges on short term loans. At the request of the Minister of Finance the Financial Institutions have declared themselves to be disposed, on certain conditions to remit 25% of arrears of interest; for small land owners they would even remit as much as 50%. A general reduction of the rate of interest on all agricultural loans was made.

10. The land credit institutions in Italy are authorised to allow borrowers who are in arrears in the payment of not more than four half-yearly instalments in respect of loans exclusively or mainly guaranteed by rural properties an extension of the time not exceeding twenty half-yearly instalments. The agricultural consortia, whose credits are frozen are put on a sound basis.

11. In Lithuania the rate of interest on mortgage in 1933 was reduced from 7% to 5½%. The sale by auction of real property is forbidden if the price offered does not reach 50% of the value.

12. The most comprehensive scheme was adopted in Poland. Measures adopted by the Polish Government took three forms. The first took the form of a defence of the home agricultural market against a too sharp fall in prices of agricultural products, a fall which might have completely disorganised the market. To achieve this, resort was made to export bounties and import duties. Secondly reduction of the cost of agricultural production and organisation of agriculture in a better manner were aimed at. To this end the burden of the state and local taxes was lightened and railway freights for the transport of certain agricultural products were lowered. The Government is intervening actively in all branches of agricultural production and is endeavouring by legislative rules and timely financial aid to increase this production. Thirdly, the Government undertook some measures of a financial character. A substantial modification or provisional relaxation of the prescriptions in regard to distraint for the recovery of sums due by the farmer was allowed. By a law dated 20th December 1932 the conversion of long term loans was made compulsory. The rate of interest on agricultural loans and on the bonds issued in respect of such loans was lowered to 4½% and the period of repayment was fixed at 55 years, from the date of conversion no instalment of repayment being payable for a period of three years. To deal with the short term debts contracted by the farmers with private individuals Arbitration Offices were set up which were authorised to:—

(a) reduce the interest to which the creditor is entitled to 4½% annually;

(b) spread the payment of debts over a period of 7 to 12 years;

(c) suspend the repayment of the capital for a period not exceeding two years;

(d) carry the reduction of the credit to the sums exacted in excess by way of interest or in any form whatever;

(e) reduce rents;

(f) in certain cases, annul a lease before the expiry of the term. These officers are further authorised to pronounce their verdicts without taking into consideration whether the matter has previously been judged by a Court of Justice.

13. Coming to our country, the Government both Central and Local and some States, have tried to adopt some measures for agricultural relief. But they have not solved the problem to a large extent. The co-operative movement initiated by the Government has not yet taken deep roots. Debt Conciliation Boards have been appointed in some provinces and in the Bhavnagar State. In Bhavnagar, a majority of ryots and sowcars of the Mahal must apply jointly if a Conciliation Board is to be set up ; since most of the Mahals have asked for it, it is clear that the scheme is popular with the sowcars as well. In the Central Province, the recent Act authorises the Government to set up Conciliation Boards in every district but the concurrence of the creditors to whom 40% of the debts are due is necessary if the case of a debtor is to be considered by the Board. Nor is the award unconditionally binding on the parties. When settlement is obstructed by the obduracy of the debtor or the creditor, the Board may issue a certificate stating who in their opinion is the unreasonable party. The creditor may then resort to the ordinary courts, but he will not then get the costs of his suits, if he is an unreasonable party, and the rate of interest from the date of the certificate will only be 6% per annum.

14. In the same State a scheme of debt redemption has been put through. The liquidation committee is authorised to write off any debt which is more than three times the land revenue assessment. The Government would then advance the compounded amount from the State's share of the produce of each khedut, the lands being held on the Bhagbhatai system. The land revenue and the takkavi advances are first deducted from the State's share and the balance would go to repay the State's advances to the sowcar. Such a scheme of debt redemption has already been carried out in 2|3 of the State which involved the settle-

ment of a debt of about Rs. 60 lakhs. On the whole the liquidation Committee has reduced the burden of debt by nearly three-fourths.

15. Though a Central Land Mortgage Bank was formed in 1929 in the Madras Presidency it has not yet dealt with even 0.2% of the total indebtedness in spite of the increasing number of primary Land Mortgage Banks (63 in 1934). Recently the Central Government has turned to the vital problem of agricultural relief. Though a number of marketing officers have been appointed, the number is not equal to the task. The work done so far is not satisfactory. We have yet to see the full operation of the rural section of the Reserve Bank in accordance with the suggestions of Mr. Darling.

16. An analysis of the methods employed by other countries to meet the problem of rural debt reveals clearly that the chief directions in which action has been taken by the State are reduction of rates of interest, scaling down of debts, liberalising the conditions of repayment, provision of greater credit and even in cases of default minimising and circumscribing the losses due to judicial process by methods such as the institution of colonisation offices to buy up property sold by judicial process and to give it back to honest debtors on a hire purchase agreement, and the creation of Debt Conciliation Boards facilitating settlement without recourse to law courts as well as postponement of sales in order to give time to the debtor to secure the credit he needs. Some have even tried to maintain an artificial price level by the aid of bounties and tariffs. The State has also tried to diminish the cost of production by the organisation of agriculture, by the reduction of taxes and railway freights and sometimes even by the reduction of rents and the cancelling of leases. At the same time production was sought to be stimulated by financial aid at the right moment.

V.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

An effective solution of this problem must depend therefore, on the simultaneous adoption of both preventive and curative measures, the one being the complement of the other. One without the other would be of no use. So a comprehensive scheme of debt relief must include both measures for the removal of the present debt burden and measures for preventing agriculturists from falling victims to indebtedness in the future. Unless there is a co-ordinated scheme of both curative and preventive measures it is beyond any doubt, that no good is going to accrue. Money spent in stray and haphazard measures is a mere waste. Though

it may seem to give relief for the time being yet the position will become worse in a short time.

The crux of the problem is the insufficiency of income of the agriculturists. So every attempt should be made to increase the income of the agriculturists. Besides, early measures should be adopted to lighten the present debt burden. When we discuss the curative measures it would be possible to see the various ways and means of lightening the debt burden. Now let us confine our attention to the other side of the question. Every effort is to be made to provide cheap credit facilities, to reduce the cost of cultivation and to enable the cultivator to receive a remunerative price for his produce.

Under the first item of providing cheap credit facilities the first thing that attracts one's attention is the question of fair interest. Although it is possible to get loans at cheaper rates in our province than in many others yet the real interest rates become high when one takes into consideration the malpractices resorted to by the creditors and the exaction of compound interest. A high premium has been put on the state of illiteracy of the rural population. An analysis of the present debt position will lead us to conclude that not less than 20% of the present debt burden can be attributed to interest charges. There are cases in the villages, though stray ones, of demanding two annas per rupee per mensem i.e., 150% per annum. So what is wanted is a legislative or administrative measure enforcing a general reduction in the rates to be charged, fixing the maximum for bonds, notes and other unsecured debts at 12% and that for mortgages and other secured debts at 9%. In abnormal years the rates may be allowed to go even lower. At the same time compound interest should not be allowed. The total interest charges must not be allowed to go above a certain percentage of the principal.

The effective lowering of interest rates and checking of malpractices can be done as follows. No legal action on any debt shall be allowed unless the debt claims have been registered in either of the following ways. In the case of secured debts there is a registration taking place in the Sub-Registrar's Office. Registration shall be allowed only after the Registrar satisfies himself that the rate of interest charged and other conditions do not contravene the legal limit and conditions. In the case of unsecured loans which generally bear an anna stamp and take the form of promissory notes something can be done to ascertain the magnitude of the debt position and for checking the interest rates and malpractices. Provision should be made for all money transactions to be registered before the Village Munsiff. The Village Munsiff should have

a registration account in which he may keep a detailed account of the money transactions. The interest rate and other conditions of borrowing must be thoroughly scrutinised before the officer registers the debt. No legal action on any debt which is unregistered shall be allowed. The registration charges may be two annas per hundred or two annas for all amounts. Before registering, just as all the promissory notes bear an anna revenue stamp so the registration fees also can be paid in the form of revenue stamps attached to the note. The reason why the Village Munsiff is chosen, is that generally Village Munsiffs are influential and responsible persons of the village. They are already remunerated by the Government. On the other hand, they have got heavy work only during the kist collection season. So they have got the necessary leisure and dignity which every such officer should have. The result of such a registration will be the correct checking of the interest rates, prevention of the demand for compound interest and the illegal activities of the money lender. Moreover it will be possible for us to ascertain still more definitely the magnitude of indebtedness year after year.

In this connection the possibility of licensing money lenders can be studied. First of all, it is very difficult to define who a professional money lender is. It is not uncommon that an influential and rich land lord is at the same time a big money lender. So the best method, if we want to license money lenders, will be the fixing of a maximum number of transactions during the year say fifty or twenty five. The idea of fixing the maximum amount limit, though sound, will lead to some difficulties.

After the question of interest comes the problem of the provision of easy credit. The Land Mortgage Banks are supposed to provide the necessary long term credit. The work of these banks, so far, shows no cause for satisfaction. The Government must enable these banks to lend to a larger number of clients. The percentage of indebtedness taken over by these banks comes to only 0.175%. So they must be made to follow a liberal policy. The loans must be disbursed within a short time after the application is made. The time taken at present, about six months, is too long. A wider publicity to the existence of the Takkavi Loans Act and Land Improvement Loan Act is essential. Throughout the area in which an extensive survey was made, there were only one or two aware of the existence of such Acts. In addition to publicity being given, the Government must disburse large sums of money through this channel on easy conditions.

The Co-operative Societies complain of large overdues. This can be solved to a large extent if they advance further in their operations on

sound lines. Loans on the pledge of crops must be allowed. This, combined with the marketing facilities to be supplied by the same movement in conjunction with the Government would make it possible for the easier recovery of the loans. What is wanted is the pursuit of a progressive and liberal policy on the part of the Co-operative Societies.[1]

Next comes the problem of increased income. The Indian Cultivators are not getting even the fair prices for their produce. Leaving apart the questions of increased yield and diminished cost, if the ryots are enabled to get their due share of the prices their conditions will improve much. The observations made by the writers of the "Agriculture situation in 1932-'33" regarding the important aspect of the difficulties of the Indian Agriculturist has been already referred to when we discussed the causes of rural indebtedness. As Mr. Audinarayana Chettiar says "It would be nothing short of mockery to ask the farmer to cultivate his land scientifically, to use chemical manure and to grow economic crops on a large scale when we do not provide him with timely or adequate finance and do not enable him to receive even the ruling market rate for the produce of the sweat of his brow. That the average farmer is unfitted by education, upbringing and by his isolation—not to speak of his want of belief in his own destiny to fight against the organised, clever, and resourceful buyer—is only a truism." The importance of marketing facilities needs no further elucidation.[2]

Foremost among the measures for the improvement of marketing is the construction of a better system of roads ; the condition of road communication in the rural parts is abominable. The conditions are still worse during the rainy season. So Government must direct the local boards to attend to this question first with the promise of their help and backing whenever necessary. Direct action by the Government must also be taken. The establishment of a warehouse or godown for a group of at least five or six villages is essential. Cheap credit must be given at 6% on the security of the produce stored in the godowns either by the Co-operative Societies or by the Banks. The warehouse receipt must be classed among Negotiable Instruments. An Agricultural Information Bureau and Central Marketing Board for the Presidency as a whole are needed to disseminate information regarding markets and trade conditions.

Coming to the question of curative measures, it is beyond doubt that the present burden must be first of all lightened so that the farmer may

1. See The Co-operative Movement in the Madras Presidency. By Dr. B. V. Narayanaswamy.

2. See. Agricultural Marketing in India. By Dr. B. V. Narayanaswamy.

improve his condition. In conjunction with the measures suggested before the following measures will go a long way in achieving our object. The establishment of Conciliation or Arbitration Boards as in Bhavnagar State or in the Punjab must be aimed at. Though Conciliation Boards may not succeed so well in our Province as in that State where the Land Revenue system and Land Tenure are different and population smaller than our own, yet the Boards, if worked on those lines would at least relieve the burden in many cases. The Board must be authorised to reduce the rate of interest charge, to disallow compound interest and heavy interest demands. Above all it must spread the period of repayment over a period of about twenty years or less as the case may be. In deserving cases these private loans settled by the Board may be paid, in about ten years, to private creditors in equal parts out of a certain fund allocated by the Government for that purpose. The farmers on their part, have to repay their loans to the Government or its authorised institution in the course of fifteen years.

The property of a person to whom agriculture is the sole means of livelihood should not be placed in a state of bankruptcy on the application of the creditor except in certain special cases. The property sold by judicial process can be taken by the Government and given on hire-purchase agreement to the honest debtors to enable them to recover by their labour the ownership of their holdings. In the case of sale of lands for Revenue arrears the property must not be disposed of below 50% of its market value.

At the root of all solutions lies the question of educating the masses. Without a proper background of education, whatever legislative measures are attempted would prove futile. Compulsory free elementary education up to the sixth standard must be introduced. The lessons taught must introduce the pupils to various topics pertaining to rural development.

The activities of the Agricultural Department must be increased. A larger number of demonstrators should tour the village areas and give practical demonstrations and advice. Last but not least, the burden of Land Revenue must be lightened. Resort to coercive measures for the recovery of land arrears should be minimised. Every effort must be made to give the agriculturist all the fiscal aid he needs.

Thus the scope for State action towards ameliorating the condition of the agriculturists is wide. All the above measures, if attempted simultaneously, will go a long way to solve the problem of India's Agricultural poverty.

Periodic Simple Continued Fractions

BY

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Let N(R) denote the number of elements in the smallest period of the simple continued fraction which corresponds to $\frac{P+\sqrt{R}}{Q}$, where Q divides P^2-R. Then with the help of certain theorems of I. Schur, which "are proved by making use of deep results in the theory of numbers," Vijayaraghavan* has proved that

$$N(R)=O(\sqrt{R}.\log R).$$

When R contains no repeated factor, Chowla† has proved the above result, independent of Schur's theorems. In this note, I extend Chowla's method to prove Vijayaraghavan's result without any restriction. Incidentally, the following interesting result is also proved:— Let $M(x)=\Sigma d(n)$, where $d(n)$ is the number of divisors of n, and n runs through all the numbers less than x and prime to R. Then, when

$\log x > \sqrt{\log R}$, we have $M(x) \sim f(R)\, x \log x$,

where $f(R)=\Pi(1-1/p)^2$, p running through all the prime factors of R. (Lemma 9.)

In this paper, unless otherwise mentioned, the symbols will have only the meaning given below:—

(1) $d(n)$ denotes the number of divisors of n,
(2) a/b means that a divides b.
(3) (a, b) denotes the greatest common divisor of a and b,
(4) $R=p_1^{a_1}\cdot p_2^{a_2}\cdots p_r^{a_r}$.
(5) In $\Sigma f(d)$, d runs through the divisors of R.

* Proceedings of the London Mathematical Society, Ser. 2, Vol. 26, part 6—(403-414).

† The Journal of the Indian Mathematical Society, Vol. 18. (142-144).

(6) In $\Sigma f(p)$, $\Pi f(p)$, p runs through the prime factors of R.
(7) $f(R) = \Pi(1 - 1/p)^2$.
(8) $[x]$ denotes the integral part of x.
(9) $\mu(n)$ denotes the Mobius function.
(10) $E(m)$ means e^m.
(11) N(R) has the same significance as explained in the beginning.
(12) $\theta(m)$ denotes the number of incongruent solutions of $R \equiv x^2 \pmod{m}$.
(13) p is always a prime.
(14) In $\sum_{p \leqslant x} f(p)$, p runs through all primes not exceeding x.

[Compare (6)]

Lemma 1. Let

(1) $p_1, p_2, \ldots p_t$ *be the common prime factors of R and m.*

(2) $m = p_1^{d_1} \ldots p_t^{d_t} . n$, *where* $d_s \geqslant 1$ *and* $(n, R) = 1$.

Then

(a) $\theta(m) \leqslant d(m)$, *when* $(m, R) = 1$

(b) $\theta(m) \leqslant p_1^{d_1 - [(d_1+1)/2]} \ldots\ldots p_t^{d_t - [(d_t+1)/2]} d(n)$

(*a*) follows from Mathews' *Theory of Numbers.*

Let T denote the number of incongruent solutions of

$$n . p^t \equiv x^2 \pmod{. p^a}, \qquad (1)$$

where $(n, p) = 1$. If $a \leqslant t$, then $x = s . p^{[(a+1)/2]}$.

Therefore, in this case

$$T \leqslant p^{a - [(a+1)/2]} \qquad (2)$$

If $a > t$, and t is odd, then 1 has no solution. (3)

Let t be even and $a > t$. Then

$x = s . p^{t/2}$. So $n \equiv s^2 \pmod{. p^{a-t}}$.

Hence in this case from (*a*), we get that

$$T \leqslant d(p^{a-t}) = a - t + 1 \leqslant p^{a - [(a+1)/2]} \qquad (4)$$

When $(m, n) = 1$,

$$\theta(m) . \theta(n) = \theta(m\ n). \qquad (5)$$

7

From (2) (3) (4) (5), (*b*) follows.

Lemma 2. Let

(1) $\alpha(v) = \sum_{\delta/v} \frac{\mu(\delta)}{\delta} d(v/\delta)$.

(2) $A = \sum \frac{\mu(d)}{d} \alpha(d)$.

Then $A = f(R)$.

If u and v are prime to each other and contain no repeated factor, then $\alpha(u) . \alpha(v) = \alpha(uv)$.

So $A = \Pi \left\{ 1 - \frac{\alpha(p)}{p} \right\} = \Pi(1 - 1/p)^2 = f(R)$.

Lemma 3. If

$$B = - \sum \frac{\mu(d)}{d} \alpha(d) \log d,$$

then $B = f(R) \left\{ \sum \frac{\log p}{p} \times \frac{2 - 1/p}{(1 - 1/p)^2} \right\}$

Let

$$f(\theta) = \Pi \left\{ 1 - \frac{\alpha(p)}{p^\theta} \right\} \tag{6}$$

Then by expanding, it can be easily seen that

$$f(\theta) = \sum \frac{\mu(d)}{d^\theta} \alpha(d). \tag{7}$$

Differentiating the expressions on the right hand side of (6), (7) with respect to θ, and putting $\theta = 1$, we prove the lemma.

That is, $B = f'(1)$.

Lemma 4. Let

$$\beta(v) = \sum_{\delta/d} \frac{\mu(\delta)}{\delta} \log \delta \, d(v/\delta)$$

and $C = \sum \frac{\mu(d)}{d} \beta(d)$.

Then $C = -A \left\{ \Sigma \frac{\log p}{p^2} \times \frac{1}{(1-1/p)^2} \right\}$

Put

$$h(\theta, d) = \prod_{p/d} (2 - 1/p^\theta)$$

and $g(\theta) = \Pi \left\{ 1 - \frac{2 - 1/p^\theta}{p} \right\}$ (8)

Then $h(\theta, d) = \sum_{\delta/d} \frac{\mu(\delta)}{\delta^\theta} d(d/\delta)$

So $h'(1, d) = \beta(d)$ (9)

Expanding (8), we get that

$$g(\theta) = \Sigma \frac{\mu(d)}{d} h(\theta, d).$$

Hence $g'(1) = C$. (10)

Differentiating (8) logarithmically with respect to θ and then putting $\theta = 1$, we arrive at

$$\frac{g'(1)}{g(1)} = -\Sigma \frac{\log p}{p^2} \times \frac{1}{(1-1/p)^2}. \qquad (11)$$

Since $g(1) = f(R)$, from (10), (11), the lemma follows.

Lemma 5. *Let*

$M(x) = \Sigma\, d(n)$ $\qquad [n \leqslant x, (R, n) = 1]$

Then $M(x) = \Sigma\, \mu(d) D_d([x/d])$,

where

$$D_v(n) = d(v) + d(2v) + d(3v) + \dots + d(nv)$$

This can be easily verified.

Lemma 6.

$$D_1(n) = n \log n + (2\gamma - 1)n + O(\sqrt{n}).$$

The result is well-known and elementary.

Lemma 7.

$$(a)\ \Sigma \frac{1}{\sqrt{p}} = O\left(\frac{\sqrt{(\log R)}}{\log \log R}\right)$$

$$(b)\ \Sigma \frac{\log p}{p} = O(\log \log R).$$

Now it is well-known that, if $\pi(x)$ is the number of primes not exceeding x, then

$$\pi(x) = O\left(\frac{x}{\log x}\right)$$

From, this by partial summation, it can be easily verified that

$$\sum_{p \leqslant x} \frac{1}{\sqrt{p}} = O\left(\frac{\sqrt{x}}{\log x}\right) \tag{12}$$

and $$\sum_{p \leqslant x} \frac{\log p}{p} = O(\log x). \tag{13}$$

p is a maximum as a function of R, when $R = 2 . 3 \ldots p$.

Then $p = O(\log R)$. (14)

From (12) – (14), the lemma follows.

Lemma 8. Let

$$(1)\ \gamma(v) = \sum_{\delta/v} \frac{d(v/\delta)}{\sqrt{\delta}}.$$

$$(2)\ T = \Sigma \frac{\gamma(d)}{\sqrt{d}}.$$

Then $\log T = O\left\{\frac{\sqrt{(\log R)}}{\log \log R}\right\}$

Now $\gamma(d) = \prod_{p/d} (2 + 1/\sqrt{p})$.

$$\text{So}\quad T = \Sigma \frac{\Pi_{p/d}(2 + 1/\sqrt{p})}{\sqrt{d}}$$

$$= \Pi\{1 + (1 + 1/\sqrt{p})/\sqrt{p}\} \leqslant \Pi(1 + 3/\sqrt{p}).$$

$$\text{Hence}\quad \log T \leqslant 3\,\Sigma\, 1/\sqrt{p} = O\left\{\frac{\sqrt{(\log R)}}{\log\log R}\right\} \text{ From lemma 7.}$$

Lemma 9.

$$M(x) = f(R)x\left\{\log x + 2\gamma - 1 + \Sigma \frac{\log p}{p} \times \frac{2 - 1/p}{(1 - 1/p)^2}\right.$$

$$\left. - \Sigma \frac{\log p}{p^2} \times \frac{1}{(1 - 1/p)^2}\right\} + O\left\{\sqrt{x}\,.\,E\left(\frac{\sqrt{(\log R)}}{\log\log R}\right)\right\}$$

and in particular, when $\log x > \dfrac{3\sqrt{(\log R)}}{\log\log R}$

$$M(x) = f(R)\,.\,x\{\log x + O(\log\log x)\}.$$

From lemma 5,

$$M(x) = \Sigma\,\mu(d) D_d([x/d]).$$

$$= \Sigma\,\mu(d)\{\Sigma_{\delta/d}\,\mu(\delta)\, d\,(d/\delta)\, D_1(x/d\delta)\}\ *$$

$$\Sigma\,\mu(d) = \Sigma_{\delta/d}\,\mu(\delta)\ d\ (d/\delta)\{(x/d\delta + (2\gamma - 1)(x/d\delta + O(x/d\delta)\}$$

(from lemma 6).

$$= Ax\log x + Bx + cx + (2\gamma - 1)Ax + O(\sqrt{x}\,.\,T).$$

(see lemmas 2, 3, 4, 8).

From this and lemmas 2, 3, 4, 8, the first part of our present lemma follows.

When $\log x > \dfrac{3\sqrt{\log R}}{\log\log r'}$ it can be easily verified that

* Ramanujam Collected Papers, p. 134. (12).

$$\sqrt{x}\,.\,E\left(\frac{\sqrt{\log R}}{\log\log R}\right)=O\,(f\,(R)\,.\,x\log\log x)\,.$$

From this, lemma 7 (*b*) and the first part of our present lemma, the second part follows.

Lemma 10. If

$$Q(x)=\Sigma\,\theta(n) \qquad \{n\leqslant x,\ (n,R)=1\},$$

then, when $x\geqslant R^{1/4}$,

$$Q(x)\leqslant\{1+o(1)\}f(R)x\log x.$$

From lemmas 1, and 9, the result follows.

Lemma 11.

$$Q(x)=O(x\log x).$$

From lemma 1,

$$Q(x)\leqslant\sum_{n\leqslant x} d\,(n)$$
$$=O\,(x\log x)\,.$$

Lemma. 12. If $N_{p_1,p_2,\ldots,p_r}(x)$ *denotes the number of numbers of the form* $p_1^{\alpha_1}\ldots p_r^{\alpha_r}$, *not exceeding* x, *then, when* $r=o(\log x)$,

$$N_{p_1,\ldots,p_r}(x)\leqslant\frac{2(\log x)^r}{r\,!}.$$

$$N_{p_1}(x)\leqslant 2\log x.$$

Assume that the result is true when the number of primes does not exceed r.

$$N_{p_1\ldots p_r p_{r+1}}(x)=N_{p_1\ldots p_r}(x)+N_{p_1\ldots p_r}(x/p_{r+1})$$
$$+N_{p_1\ldots p_r}(x/p^2_{r+1})+\ldots+N_{p_1\ldots p_r}(x/p^t_{r+1})+N_{p_{r+1}}(x)-1.$$

where $t=[(\log x)/\log p_{r+1}]$.

Hence

$$N_{p_1 \cdots p_r p_{r+1}}(x) \leqslant \frac{2}{r!} \Big\{ (\log x)^r + (\log x - \log p_{r+1})^r + \dots$$

$$+ (\log x - t \log p_{r+1})^r \Big\} + \frac{\log x}{\log p_{r+1}}$$

$$\leqslant \frac{2}{r!} \Big\{ (\log x)^r + \int_0^t (\log x - u \log p_{r+1})^r du \Big\} + \frac{\log x}{\log p_{r+1}}.$$

$$\leqslant \frac{2(\log x)^{r+1}}{(r+1)!} \Big\{ \frac{r+1}{\log x} + \frac{1}{\log p_{r+1}} + o(1) + \frac{(r+1)!}{(\log x)^r} \Big\}$$

$$\leqslant \frac{2(\log x)^{r+1}}{(r+1)!}, \text{ since } p_{r+1} \geqslant 3 \text{ and } x \text{ is large.}$$

Thus the result follows by induction.

Lemma 13.

$N_{p_1 \cdots p_r}(R) = O(R^\varepsilon)$, for every positive ε.

Since $R = p_1^{a_1} \dots p_r^{a_r}$, maximum value of r is when $R = 2 \dots p$.

Hence $r < 2 \dfrac{\log R}{\log \log R}$.

Since $\dfrac{\log^r x}{r!}$ increases when r increases from 1 to $\log x$,

$$N_{p_1 \cdots p_r}(R) \leqslant \frac{2 \log^r x}{r!} \quad \text{when } r = \frac{2 \log R}{\log \log R}$$

Hence the result follows by Sterling's theorem.

Lemma 14. Let

$$S_1 = \Sigma\, \theta(p_1^{\alpha_1} \dots p_r^{\alpha_r})\, Q(\sqrt{R}/p_1^{\alpha_1} \dots p_r^{\alpha_r}),$$

where the summation is for all numbers of the form $p_1^{\alpha_1} \dots p_r^{\alpha_r}$, which lie between 1 and $\sqrt[4]{R}$. Then

$$S_1 \leqslant \tfrac{1}{2}\{1+o(1)\}\sqrt{R}\log R.$$

From lemma 10.

$$S_1 \leqslant \Sigma\, \theta(p_1^{\alpha_1} \ldots p_r^{\alpha_r})\{1+o(1)\}\, f(R)\, \frac{\sqrt{R}}{p_1^{\alpha_1} \ldots p_r^{\alpha_r}} \log \frac{\sqrt{R}}{p_1^{\alpha_1} \ldots p_r^{\alpha_r}}.$$

$$\leqslant \tfrac{1}{2}\{1+o(1)\} f(R) \,.\, \sqrt{R} \,.\, \log R . K,$$

where $K = \Sigma \dfrac{\theta(p_1^{\alpha_1} \ldots p_r^{\alpha_r})}{p_1^{\alpha_1} \ldots p_r^{\alpha_r}}$, the summation being as above.

From lemma **1**,

$$\frac{\theta(p^\alpha)}{p^\alpha} \leqslant 1/p^{[(\alpha+1)/2]}$$

But $[(\alpha+1)/2] = t$, if and only if $\alpha = 2t-1$ or $2t$.

So we can get p^{-t} only from two values of α.

Hence

$$K \leqslant \Sigma \frac{2}{p_1^{t_1}} \cdot \frac{2}{p_2^{t_2}} \cdots \frac{2}{p_r^{t_r}} \text{ (summation as above)}$$

$$\leqslant \Sigma \frac{d(p_1^{t_1} \ldots p_r^{t_r})}{p_1^{t_1} \ldots p_r^{t_r}}.$$

$$\leqslant \Pi(1-1/p)^{-2} = \frac{1}{f(R)}.$$

Therefore, the lemma follows.

Lemma 15. Let

$$S_2 = \Sigma\, \theta(p_1^{\alpha_1} \ldots p_r^{\alpha_r})\, Q(\sqrt{R}/p_1^{\alpha_1} \ldots p_r^{\alpha_r}),$$

where the summation is for all numbers of the form $p_1^{\alpha_1} \ldots p_r^{\alpha_r}$, *which lie between* $\sqrt[4]{R}$ *and* $\sqrt{R}$. *Then*

$S_2 = o(\sqrt{R} . \log R)$.

From lemma 1,

$$\theta(p_1^{\alpha_1} \ldots p_r^{\alpha_r}) \leqslant p_1^{\alpha_1 - [(\alpha_1+1)/2]} \ldots\ldots\ldots p_r^{\alpha_r - [(\alpha_r+1)/2]}$$

$$\leqslant \sqrt{(p_1^{\alpha_1} \ldots p_r^{\alpha_r})}$$

Therefore, from lemma 11,

$$S_2 \leqslant \Sigma \sqrt{(p_1^{\alpha_1} \ldots p_r^{\alpha_r})} \frac{\sqrt{R}}{p_1^{\alpha_1} \ldots p_r^{\alpha_r}} \log \frac{\sqrt{R}}{p_1^{\alpha_1} \ldots p_r^{\alpha_r}}.$$

$$\leqslant \Sigma\{\sqrt{R} . \log R\}/\sqrt{\{(p_1^{\alpha_1} \ldots p_r^{\alpha_r})\}}$$

$$\leqslant \Sigma R^{1/2 - 1/8} \log R$$

$$= O(R^{\varepsilon} . R^{3/8} \log R), \text{ (from lemma 13)}.$$

$$= o(\sqrt{R} \log R).$$

Now we are in a position to prove our main result. In the paper mentioned above, Chowla has proved that

$$N(R) \leqslant 2 \sum_{m \leqslant \sqrt{R}} \theta(m).$$

Hence

$$N(R) \leqslant 2 \Sigma \theta(p_1^{\alpha_1} \ldots p_r^{\alpha_r}) . Q (\sqrt{R}/p_1^{\alpha_1} \ldots p_r^{\alpha_r}),$$

where the summation is for all numbers of the form $p_1^{\alpha_1} \ldots p_r^{\alpha_r}$ not exceeding $\sqrt{R}$.

Therefore, from lemmas 14, 15, it follows that

$$N(R) \leqslant 2(S_1 + S_2)$$

$$\leqslant \{1 + o(1)\}\sqrt{R} . \log R.$$

Thus we have proved Vijayaraghavan's result.

The Prices of Foodgrains in the Madras Presidency During the Period 1930-34

BY

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1. Mr. Adyanthaya has compiled a series of index-numbers of the prices of four important foodgrains in our Presidency and discussed their variations between the years 1874 and 1930.[1] In the present note the corresponding figures for the years 1930-31, 31-32, 32-33, and 33-34 are given so as to make Mr. Adyanthaya's series complete upto 1934. The base, the method of computation, etc., are all the same as in Mr. Adyanthaya's work. A revision of the whole series has been taken on hand and it is hoped that it will be possible to publish the results before long.

2. Index Numbers: Average of 1874-75 to 1883-84 = 100.

Division	Year.	Rice 2nd Sort.	Cholam.	Cumbu.	Ragi.
West Coast	1930-31	146·6	..	..	134·3
	1931-32	117·5	..	..	117·3
	1932-33	109·2	..	..	158·2
	1933-34	94·4	..	..	108·6
East Coast Central	1930-31	153·1	144·3	159·1	144·7
	1931-32	124·8	115·5	118·5	123·8
	1932-33	113·7	110·9	128·3	124·9
	1933-34	104·5	109·5	121·4	90·1
Deccan	1930-31	155·8	111·8	118·8	114·6
	1931-32	141·0	109·1	102·2	107·4
	1932-33	132·3	105·3	117·0	109·0
	1933-34	110·4	101·5	106·2	88·0

1. "A Statistical Study of the Prices etc.," *Journal of the Madras University*, July 1933 and January 1934.

East Coast North	1930-31	156·7	143·5	149·4	140·7
	1931-32	141·7	148·6	137·8	130·7
	1932-33	127·8	136·8	134·5	121·4
	1933-34	98·2	94·8	119·0	95·2
East Coast South	1930-31	156·5	168·8	185·3	157·2
	1931-32	127·7	148·6	153·6	133·6
	1932-33	107·5	131·3	146·8	125·7
	1933-34	95·7	108·6	133·3	101·1
Madras Presidency	*1930-31*	*153·7*	*142·1*	*153·2*	*138·3*
	1931-32	*130·5*	*130·5*	*128·0*	*122·6*
	1932-33	*118·1*	*121·1*	*131·7*	*127·8*
	1933-34	*100·6*	*103·6*	*120·0*	*96·6*

3. The most prominent feature that may be noticed in the table is the steady and rapid fall in the price of rice in the East Coast North and East Coast South—the two main rice-producing divisions of the Presidency. It may be pointed out in this connection that the prices ruling in 1933-34 were the lowest touched since 1903.

Further a close scrutiny of the figures in the table will be found to strengthen the main conclusions reached by Mr. Adyanthaya in his paper.

4. My thanks are due to the Statistical Officer and his assistants at the Office of the Madras Board of Revenue for giving me all possible help in the collection of the relevant statistics.

Thiruvalluva Malai

By

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There are two views about the age and authorship of the fifty-three verses now generally known as Thiruvalluva Malai. They form on the whole a fairly fine collection of well-turned verses in eulogy of the immortal Kural. They are commonly attributed by many to the members of the third Madura Sangam or the last Tamil Academy. The sponsors of this view ask us to believe that the great savants of the last Sangam in the Pandian metropolis composed and presented at a time these complimentary verses to Valluvar in token of their approval and appreciation of his Kural. These are said to be very flattering tributes, which the contemporary Sangam poets paid to Valluvar after he humbled their arrogance and broke the literary supremacy claimed by their supercilious academic clique. On the contrary some critics hold this version to be an unwarranted cock and bull story of later invention; and they maintain that these stanzas could not possibly be earlier than the period of collection and excerption of the classic anthologies of songs of the Sangam age, which cannot be before the 5th or the 6th century A.D. and must be the composition of some collaborator in the work of such excerption. In disputes of this kind, it is not easy to decide offhand ; and it is not desirable to dogmatise either. It is possible only to sift the available evidence, weigh the respective arguments on both sides, and tentatively accept the view which on investigation, appears to be more probable and less unreasonable. And let us now just make an attempt to investigate this moot-controversy among scholars for the benefit of the history of Tamil Literature.

The orthodox Pandits will not be orthodox unless they are thoroughgoing traditionalists. In this, as in everything else, they simply offer us the common fairy tale and demand our fealty thereto. They pompously relate the vulgar legend, and retail all its elaborate details with pious unction.

(*i*) They repeat with all zeal, as with them repetition tantamounts to confirming corroboration, the tale as to how Valluvar miraculously triumphed over the arrogant Sangam savants, and made them eat their humble pie and officiously sing hallelujahs to him and his Kural in flat-

tering metre. And then they naively ask how we could ignore such a well-known story. "To hear is to believe" is their creed; and they would religiously consign the unbelievers to contempt and obloquy. Scepticism and any questioning spirit are the sins inexpiable in their eyes. Tradition, they hold, should simply suffice. The legendary tale is thus their sheet anchor. (*ii*) Some of their polemical experts sometimes also add with a gusto as a point here and a point there some names of literary fame, as conundrums, as if mere puzzling were enough proving. The most astoundingly convincing corroboration in their eyes, if any corroboration were at all wanted for this tradition about Valluvamalai, is in the language of verse No. 50 of this eulogium. It is attributed to one Kodignazhal Māni Puthanar. It simply apostrophises a Mâran or unnamed Pandian; and it purports to say that its author with others learnt from the mouth of Valluvar all about the four purusharthams of life. They hang their emphatic argument on to the phrase in this verse " வள்ளுவனார் தம்வாயாற் கேளாதனவெல்லாங் கேட்டு "—"Having heard from Valluvar's mouth all that are not ordinarily heard elsewhere." How could the author of this verse use this language unless he were Valluvar's contemporary and actually listened to Valluvar's recital of his Kural distiches before the Sangam audience ? With this clinching argument, they cry Q. E. D. (Quod Erat Demonstrandum), and claim they have said the last word to set this question ever at rest. And thereafter they vehemently refuse to have any more to do with those who are unfortunate enough to be yet unconvinced.

But their critics' replies to these two-fold arguments are terse and telling. The first and foremost plea of the traditionalists is summarily disposed of on the ground that the truth of the story is itself the question at issue, and therefore no argument can be hung on it. And the Sceptics can see no force in the second argument at all. They contend that its validity primarily and finally rests on the veracity of the story itself with which it is inextricably wound up. They should only stand or fall together. The language of the 50th stanza *per se* adds precious little to the solution of the problem on hand, as it leads us nowhere beyond the contested story. If the story were itself believed in, no further arguments would be wanted; if it were questioned, then this verse can give it no valid support either in itself or in its context. When the main story itself is doubted, the authenticity of this verse is also directly involved in the controversy. The moment the Valluvamalai verses are accepted as genuine, the whole discussion should cease. If the story be spurious, the verses would only be concoctions to hang this tale on.

Again, apart from the disputed authenticity there is nothing in this venba to postulate the veracity of the story that Valluvamalai is a per-

sonal metrical tribute to Valluvar by his contemporary rivals in the Republic of Letters. Some emphasis is sought to be laid on the words "தெளிந்தோம் வள்ளுவனார் தம்வாயாற்கேட்டு" "Learnt from the mouth of Valluvar"; and a whole theory is built on it. The words are of ordinary and common application to any admirer of Valluvar at any time, and they stand on quite a neutral ground. They need not necessarily imply any contemporaneity with Valluvar at all. Any reader of Shakespeare or Socrates to-day, who learns all the wisdom and the sweet things treasured up in their writings, may well claim to have learnt the same from their mouths as the living words of these by-gone poets. There is nothing improper or unnatural in such a statement; and their admirer need not be their contemporary at all to state in a poetic vein his indebtedness to their writings. It would be the height of fastidious and prudish puritanism to insist that a mere use of this phrase should inevitably and inexorably, in all cases, imply contemporaneity to everyone who expresses his admiration to the poets in such warm language. Moreover, this argument based on these words will be quite neutralised by the equally plausible answer that any later myth-monger could easily use such words, and would surely do so, when he wanted to hoax the credulous folks. No valid theory can therefore be built or even suggested merely from such phrases in metrical compositions.

All this knocks out the bottom of the traditionalists' story, and is fatal to their contentions. They must therefore be either content with the allegiance of the faithful votaries of mere legends as such, and should not seek the votes of inquiring critics to their superstitious shibboleths; or if they would at all enter the lists of combatants to contend for their story at the Bar of Reason, they should support it by offering irrefutable and incontrovertible evidence independent of their story. And as long as such convincing corroboration is lacking, they cannot blame the critics for withholding credence to their creed.

Ordinarily this were enough to dispose of this debate with the declaration that the proposition of the traditionalists fails for the present as it is not proved. No onus rests on their opponents, as no one can be called on to prove a negative; and they may well claim the honours of the contest with merely showing that the proposers have failed to establish the case they contended for. But in the present case, the critics carry their campaign a little further. They offer to show unmistakable and positive indications to establish intrinsic and implied proofs of the hollowness of this unhallowed story about Valluvar and his unseemly strife with the last Sangam poets. They suggest that these venba verses must be the work of some later collaborator who partook in the collection and excerption of the anthologies of the earlier Sangam periods;

and the author of Valluvamalai, whoever he were, chose not only to be incognito, but also to father his poems on to some imaginary Sangam bards with a view to enhance the value of his eulogium to Valluvar's deathless didactic distiches, and to earn a sure recognition and certain welcome to his own eulogistic verses which the name and fame of the bards of the long past but illustrious Madura Tamil Sangam would insure. These critics are of opinion that in any event the venba verses of the Valluvamalai bear on their very face the falsity of their alleged diverse but synchronous authorship fathered on to the bards of the Sangam age. And they urge the following data for their view:—

(i) In the first place, a score of names mentioned in the Valluvamalai are not identifiable with any of the numerous stars in the great galaxy of the Sangam poets, and are nowhere to be spotted out in the wide firmament of the Sangam literature. Names like Kulapathy Nāyanar, Kodi gnazhal Māni Puthanar, Mathurai Pālasiriyanar, Kavisahara Perunthevanar, Nahanthevanar appear to be quite chimerical, and owe their existence only to the fertile fancy of the inventor of this spurious story.

(ii) Even more damning and inexorably self-revealing stultification is offered by the fact that all the alleged authors could not have been contemporaries even if they were poets of the Sangam age. Some of these poets at least are now known to have lived in different times with intervals so long between that to bring them together is not humanly possible. Kapilar, Nakkirar, Avvai, Kulavanikan Sathanar, Paranar and Perundevanar lived ages apart. They were not all contemporary members of the third Sangam in its last days. They therefore could not have all met Valluvar together, if he ever took his famous Kural for the imprimatur of a dying Sangam in its days of decadence only to give it an inglorious burial. For, the story of the traditionalists says that Valluvar was received by the proud forty-nine members of the last Sangam with hauteur, and then they lavished their fulsome flattery on him by these verses when he humbled their pride with miracles and divine intervention. Recent researches have now indisputably established that these and some other bards found in the Valluvamalai lived in different periods, and could not all be contemporary members of any Sangam sessions.

(iii) Ugraperuvaluthy, the Pandian poet-king to whom Valluvamalai attributes a venba, was not on the Pandian throne when Koolavaniyan Sathanar lived and composed his famous epic of Manimekhalai; and the latter's contemporary Pandian, Āryappadai Kadantha Nedunchelian, is not said to have given his recognition to the merits of Vallu-

var's Kural, which must in itself be deemed fatal to any literary work brought to the Madura Sangam of his days for its imprimatur.

(iv) According to the traditionalists, Valluvar rightly humiliated the forty-nine recalcitrant Sangam members, and in the sequel they all wriggled out of their discomfiture by offering homage to their victor by simultaneously bursting out into songs of eulogy. Their verses since then went with Kural as its especial epilogue. Why does Valluvamalai contain fifty-three instead of only forty-nine verses, which should be if the story were true? The alleged authors of the other four Venbas were never members of the Sangam; and their verses have no place whatever in this phase and version at all of the story.

(v) The opening verse is illuminating, and exposes the fallacy involved in this spurious story. It is attributed to "Asareeri" or the anonymous incorporeal sky-flier; whoever this be, it were nothing short of lunacy to believe that this anonymous author when directly and personally addressing Valluvar could end his verse by attributing it to some other anonymous author. The last passage of this first verse runs thus:—"எனவுரைத்து, வானில் ஒருக்கவோ என்றதோர் சொல்" In equivalent English it must read as follows:—"So saying, there was a word in the sky sounding once 'oh.'" This gives the whole case of the traditionalists away. For, this passage unequivocally makes it crystal clear that the author of the indirect concluding passage of this verse is not and cannot be the same person to whom the direct address in the preceding lines is attributed in this Venba. This Venba expressly purports merely to report someone else's statement. Its real author simply attributes here in so many words some fancied or fanciful address to an anonymous and invisible aeronaut. This verse really pricks the bubble and significantly suffices to destroy for ever the illusion and the spell of the legend about the authorship of the Valluvamalai.

(vi) There is just one other fact about Valluvamalai verses which adds its own condemnation of their alleged multitudinous authorship attributed to the Sangam poets. The traditionalists allege that in answer to the challenge of the proud poets of the third Sangam, Valluvar placed his Kural on the magic plank which served to measure the merits of all who claimed equal honours with, or literary laurels, from the Sangam savants. The plank forthwith shrank up to hold only the holy Kural, throwing overboard all the forty-nine fellows of the Academy usually seated on it. Thereupon the crest-fallen Sangam poets struggling in the tank-water simultaneously sang out each a venba *ex tempore* eulogising Kural and its divine author and expiating their erstwhile sin of treating both with callous contumely. This, if true, would postulate that the Valluvamalai venbas

were all unpremeditated and composed offhand on the spur of the moment and independently of each other. They can have little or no relation with each other in matter or manner, no connection or co-ordination of any kind in thought, diction or design between them. But as a matter of fact, Valluvamalai reveals a well-thought-out, well-planned and well-ordered scheme running throughout all its verses, continuously and in perfect concord. In the circumstances alleged by the traditionalists, each of the forty-nine poets, sang out his own verse independently and *ex tempore*. They had no occasion to consult each other before-hand or to concert, plan out and allot definite shares to each of them on a common partnership in praise of Kural. Each poet could thus have spoken out only his own mind and feeling in measuring the value of Kural in its entirety. No one could contentedly confine himself in the circumstances merely to sections of the Kural in expectation that any other of his fellow poets would just take up where he left and complete the scheme of eulogy as he planned and on his own lines. And yet this is exactly what we now find in the Valluvamalai. It refreshingly reveals a studiedly harmonised, artificially well-arranged, and logically co-ordinated scheme. It is not mere words of meaningless flattery from diverse men offered piece-meal and stringed into a haphazard cordon of discordant beads. This garland of well-turned venbas with a fine finish and select settings, shows the consummate skill of a master artist. There are verses particularly venbas Nos. 25 to 28, 33, 37 and 44 which emphatically suggest that the whole garland of Valluvamalai venbas, must be the product of one mind and manufactured in one workshop. This fact in itself refutes and rules out the tale of the traditionalists attributing the 53 venbas to a multitude of authors in the third Tamil Academy of Madura.

(vii) Again, if these fifty-three venbas formed the especial prologue known as Chirappu-payiram (சிறப்புப்பாயிரம்) to Kural, then it is inconceivable why the great classic commentators like Parimelazhakar and Manakkudavar ignored them altogether. The Chirappu-payiram to any book is designed and deemed in all Tamil Literature as a very definite and organic part of the book to which it is attached. In theory and practice alike, Chirappu-payirams should form part and parcel of the treatises themselves. They are always prescribed and treated as indispensable adjuncts to books of all sorts, holding the key to open the author's real heart and soul and to explain the inner currents of thought in the book to the readers. They serve as essential introductions in vital and organic relation with the theses in the main books, so much so that only a select few who alone can claim intimate knowledge of and living contact with the authors in the first degree are ordained and permitted to write such Chirappupayirams to such authors' books. It

is not open to all and sundry readers or admirers of any book to write and append these introductions thereto; but it is the privilege only of a select few within strictly delimited area to offer these especial introductions to the literary works of any author.

Any Chirappu-payiram writer must come under one or the other of the four categories laid down in the Tamil grammars. The authors of such introductions should hold relation to the author of the book either as his own teacher, his student or his fellow-pupil, who alone may have studied him at close quarters and so may know all about him thoroughly. This is the general rule regarding the rights to write introductions to any author's book. The policy and principle for this prescription are only too obvious. It is only close acquaintance with the thoughts and feelings of any author that will enable, and so should entitle, others to offer appropriate and adequate introductions to such author's works. The only rare exception, recognised outside this collegiate circle with sacred and secret bonds of soulful sympathy, is in the case of talented commentators whose thorough acquaintance with and love for a literary work as much as their great erudition and skill may afford a special guarantee that they understand and can expound the author's real mind as revealed in the author's book.

" தன்னா சிரியன் தன்மா ணாக்கன்
தன்னொடு கற்றோன் றருமுறை காரனென்ற
இன்னோர் பாயிர மியம்புதல் கடனே "

In the face of this rigorous rule of grammar relating to these special Payirams, it is no wonder that very great importance is attached to them in the Tamil literary circles. The Payiram to Tholcappiam is not only annotated by all the classic commentators to Tholcappiam; but it has also been the theme and thesis for many a monograph at the hands of very learned and talented scholars since. In fact it would be a wonder if a commentator to any book fails to take note of the introduction to that book. Valluvar's Kural has the rare privilege of reckoning ten master commentators to vie with one another to annotate and expound it. And yet not one of these ten eminent commentators is known so much as even to refer to any one of these fifty-three verses of Valluvamalai, or to leave a trace or hint about their existence. They had no commentary nor annotation from any scholar of repute till Saravana Perumal Aiyar recently published glossarial paraphrase for them. Kural is one of the most widely read books in the world's literatures. Nevertheless nowhere in the entire range of Tamil Literature except Kalladam, do we meet with any credentials for the Valluvamalai Venbas. No writer of any note till recent times except the author of Kalladam took any notice of this so-called Chirappu Payiram to Kural. And we shall deal with the reference in Kalladam presently.

Thus not only all the ten Kural commentators appear to have ignored them entirely: but all the other Tamil writers of repute as well, since Valluvar's time, paid no heed whatever to these fifty-three venbas. Virtually they were taboo to the real republic of Tamil letters. There must be very cogent and strong reasons for this unnatural and unholy conspiracy among all writers of all times for nearly two millenniums to consign the fifty-three fine venbas of Valluvamalai, if they really formed the Chirappu Payiram to Kural from its very inception and composed by the Sangam poets—as the story tellers try to make out. So far as we see, no such valid reasons are forthcoming to explain this strange phenomenon. The only irresistible inference it leads us to is that this Tiruvalluvamalai did not exist anywhere in early times, and our ancients were not even aware of any such Chirappu-payiram, and when some later literary forger concocted them, standard writers consistently refused and were reluctant to give them recognition of any sort on their part.

(viii) There is also this further fact in this connection which militates against the traditionalist-version. Their thesis is that these fifty-three venbas contemporaneously composed by the forty-nine Sangam poets and four others to whom Valluvar read his Kural, formed from the very start its Chirappu-payiram or special prologue under the name and style of Valluvamalai. None of their alleged authors answers to the characters or complies with the conditions laid down in Tamil Grammars for eligibility to be Payiram-writers to Kural as we saw just now. None of the fifty-three eulogists named in this Valluvamalai stood to Valluvar in any relation required by the rule of grammar as a qualification to write a Payiram to Kural. Whatever value their compositions may otherwise command, however superlative the merits of these verses may be, they simply cannot and shall not become Payirams as the accepted canons and conventions of the Tamil Men of letters bar them out of such a category. This cuts the very ground from under the feet of the thesis of the traditionalists. Their whole story would be watered down and lose all its value, if not totally negatived, when Valluvamalai verses are thus bared and stripped of their special claim and characteristics as Chirappu-Payiram to Kural.

(ix) The critics of this tradition also point to another feature of the Valluvamalai verses, which helps us to unmask and destroy their pretentious claim to antiquity. In the venbas of Valluvamalai what is now known as Vahaiyuli (வகையுளி) is very much in evidence. Vahaiyuli is a fault in metrical composition which consists in splitting and distributing the syllables (அசைகள்) of one word into different feet (சீர்கள்). This was uncommon if not quite unknown in Sangam poetry;

but it gradually crept up on the sly in the medieval times, at first rarely and under sufferance when natural poetry was replaced by artificial versification; and it was finally condoned and regularised only by the latest treatises on Tamil Prosody.

The entire Sangam literature is conspicuous by the absence of Vahaiyuli except rarely in the final or concluding mono-syllabled foot of a venba: and even such rare exceptions would only be the super-added suffixes of verbs which normally end both the logical and the grammatical sentences, and where therefore no violent break in the cadence or concept is noticeable.

In Valluvamalai Venbas on the other hand, not rarely but copiously, not only for the one-syllabled final foot at the end of a venba, but for all feet and at all places in verses, not merely suffixes of verbs but all co-equal component parts of all parts of speech are ruthlessly split up to form different feet, in any and every verse. Even personal and proper names are outrageously subjected to this barbarous ordeal of verbal and syllabic anatomizing and crude scanning in the Valluvamalai. A few glaring and arresting instances culled offhand from the venbas of Valluvamalai would amply illustrate this vitiated degenerate taste and the excessive fondness of its author for this licensed libertinism land-marking later-day versifying:

" திருவள்—ளுவருலகம் "
" தங்குறள் வெண்—பாவடியால் "
" தமிழ்ப்புலவ—ராய்க்கேட்க "
" வள்ளுவர்முப்—பானூல் "
" எப்பா—வலரினும் "
" முதற்பா—வலரொப்பார் "
" தான் வள்—ளுவனை "
" அந்தா—மரைமேல் "
" பயன் வள்—ளுவனார் "
" மேதக்—கன "
" பிறங்கொளிமா—லைக்கும் "
" கறங்கிருண்மா—லைக்கும் "
" திருவள்—ளுவர்தாமும் "
" திருவள்—ளுவரன்றி "
" திருவள்—ளுவர்செப் பியகுறளால் "

This sin of strangling, maiming and mutilating words to facilitate scanning in metres is so rife, as you find a score of them within the 49 venbas attributed to the Sangam poets in Valluvamalai; whereas we hardly meet with one of its ilk in the 1,330 verses of Kural or in the

whole wide world of Sangam poetry. This in itself suffices to show that Valluvamalai must belong to the limping later-day metres of licensed libertinism and of unnatural, harrowing, artificial refinements. This would also warrant another relevant conclusion that rather than gratuitously presuming all the forty-nine bards of the last Sangam guilty of indulgence in this unhallowed 'vahaiyuli' simultaneously in their single-verse-contributions to Valluvamalai, it is more reasonable to believe these venbas to be the work of a single versifier partial to this poetic perversity.

Thus we see that the venbas of Valluvamalai with their unabashed indulgence in this unchaste, unsangam 'vahaiyuli' wear on their very face a convincing proof of their later post-Sangam origin, and of one man's authorship, both of which are fatal to the traditionalists' story.

Incidentally in this connection, another plausible argument of the traditionalists may also be disposed of. They suggest that the very mention of these venbas in many old cadjan books of Kural in the names of the diverse Sangam poets squares only with, and so should suffice to support, the common belief as to their authorship now current in the Tamil country. And in all solemnity they propose to pillory and banish scepticism by scoffing out all critics with sage-smiles for their daring suggestion of even a possibility of the posthumous forgery of Valluvamalai, which they hold is simply incredulous in this country. A craze to foist one's own compositions on some other famous authors of prior times is neither unknown nor uncommon. We meet with instances of this craze in all countries and at all times. Even in the vigilant West which plumes itself with a claim for eradicating and extinguishing credulous superstitions of every kind, and enthroning and establishing the sway and supremacy of enlightened Reason for ever, we hear of surprising examples of this literary fraud. Not a few lines or verses alone, but a whole literature in a bulky tome was palmed off in Great Britain by Macpherson as the work of Ossian, a Scotch poet of a prior age; and this caused quite a furore in the entire English speaking world till the audacious forgery was unmasked and laid bare by relentless research! In our Tamil country, this mad craze is known to be, if anything, even more common and widespread. Kandiar (கந்தியார்) among the Jains, and Velli Ambala Thambiran (வெள்ளியம்பலத்தம்பிரான்) among the Hindus are notable names of literary cranks who riddled even the best and most sacred poetic works of all kinds with their forged verses. The classic repute, the sanctity of masterpieces only added to their zest and craze instead of cold douching or restraining their mad pranks. Even classics like Chintamani, Kamba Ramayanam and Periyapuranam were not spared, but freely

defiled by these cranks. Even to this day, we know that all sorts of compositions are freely and fearlessly forged and palmed off without serious challenge as the works of Sootha Muni, Agasthiar or some other fancied favourite Siddhar of by-gone days. So there is no reason to look aghast or pretend surprise, if rational students refuse to be lulled into credulity, and venture to question the credentials for the legends about Valluvamalai and the alleged authorship of its verses.

All these cogent arguments not only annihilate the legless legend attributing Valluvamalai verses to the Sangam savants; but they go far enough to convince impartial inquirers that they must have been composed only at a later age and by some zealous admirer of Valluvar wanting or hoping to enhance the value of his eulogy by palming it off in the name of poets of the bygone Sangam age. It now only remains for us to ascertain if possible the why and wherefore of this fable about Valluvamalai. We cannot dogmatise of course; nor can we at this distant day expect to find positive facts to prove exactly as to when, where and by whom was started this literary canard. But we may well survey the surrounding circumstances, and safely surmise the probable truth from natural events after eliminating fallacies and with rational inferences warranted on their own merits. We now know for a fact that the Sangam poets were realists, and enjoyed and exulted in unfettered freedom in theme and thought, design and diction of their poetry. They did not scruple to revel in poetry without invoking God at the beginning of each of their poems. Only the post-Sangam Buddhist and Jaina scholars started, and the later Saivite and Vaishnavite poets canonized the convention of compulsory invocatory verses for every poem and literary work of all species. Once started it soon ceased to be optional or a mere matter of taste, and hardened into such a cardinal inviolable law of letters, that under its coercive operation for all the excerpted anthologies and collections of Sangam poems their later editors had such invocatory verses newly composed and added to them.

Again the age of religious revival since the seventh to the twelfth century A.D. reveals a jealous rivalry between votaries of the different religious groups in concocting and foisting all sorts of evidences in order to claim all the great cosmopolitan master-poems of the classic age to their respective sects. Iraiyanar Ahapporul and Valluvamalai are but two extreme instances of this zeal among the literary men of this period. The former is fathered on to God Siva and the latter is foisted on the last Sangam poets of whom all but their fame and some names was already forgotten.

The changes in the conditions and circumstances since the Sangam age were so many, and the break from it so great in Tamilaham since

the 6th century and after, that a heavy and thick fog hangs between these two periods and veils all the vistas by which any glimpse of the earlier golden epoch may scintillate. Fanaticism reigned rampant, and casuistry in the guise of piety served all the jesuitical zealots to dare anything in the name of religion. Any excesses and lapses calculated to glorify sects were not only permissible, but were often welcomed as even meritorious. It can be no wonder therefore that the uncritical and pious Saivite author of Kalladam took up the new legend about Valluvamalai with avidity, and brocaded it into his elaborately embroidered fabrics of Kalladam. We know Kalladam cannot be earlier than the 10th century A.D.; it was probably even of a much later age. For, it has references to many events and names historically established to be of the 9th and 10th century A.D.

The passage in Ahaval No. 15 in Kalladam speaks of God Siva as the author of the very first verse in Valluvamalai; whereas the venba attributed to (Iraiyanar) Siva now stands as the third verse in the extant editions of this prologue to Kural. Whatever it be, it simply shows that the fable of Valluvamalai took shape before the author of Kalladam piously wove it into one of his Ahavals therein in praise of Siva. This is only as it should be in an age of religious fanaticism. It will be no authority to build or base any valid historical theory upon. On the materials available and as a result of an impartial investigation, we will be constrained to reject the legend as unhistorical and highly improbable, and accept at least tentatively the thesis of their critics that Valluvamalai must be the composition of some later religious zealot and foisted on to the real and imaginary names of poets of the famous bygone Sangam periods.

தொல்காப்பிய ஆராய்ச்சி

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முன்னுரை

இவ்வாராய்ச்சி தமிழிலக்கணமாகிய தொல்காப்பியச் சூத்திரப்பொருள் பற்றியெழுவது. இதில் நாகரிக ஒப்புயர்வுகளைப்பற்றிய கருத்து எதுவுமில்லை. சென்ற ஆயிரம் ஆண்டுகளுக்கு மேலாகத் தமிழகத்தில் ஆரியநாகரிகமும் தமிழ்நாகரிகமும் இரண்டறக்கலந்து சமைந்ததோர் புதுநாகரிகம் யாவருக்கும் பொதுவுடைமையாய் நின்று நிலவுகின்றது. இது, தற்கால வட இந்தியநாகரிகத்தை நோக்கச் சிறிது வேறுபாடுடையதெனினும், தென்னாட்டில் சமயசாதி வேறுபாடுகளால் மாறுபடாது, ஆரியர் தமிழர் என்ற பிளவுணர்ச்சிக்கு இடந்தாராது, எல்லாருக்கும் பொதுநிதியாகப் பாராட்டப்பட்டு வருகின்றது. இப்பொதுநாகரிகமக்களுள் இது பற்றிய வாதத்துக்கு எதுவில்லை. இக்கட்டுரை கருதுவதெல்லாம் சில தொல்காப்பியச் சூத்திரங்களின் உண்மைப்பொருள் வரையறை செய்யும் முயற்சியின் அளவிற்றேயாகும்.

இனி, மிகப்பழைய தொல்காப்பியக்காலத் தமிழகத்தில், தமிழரின் தனி நாகரிகம் ஒன்று ஆரியநாகரிகத்தின் வேறுபட்டதாக இருந்ததென்பது, தொல்காப்பியத்தாலும், வான்மீகம் முதலிய பண்டைய வடநூல்களாலும் விளக்கமானது; சரித ஆராய்ச்சியாளர் அனைவரும் ஒப்புக்கொள்வது; பழைய பல தமிழ்நூல்களில், 'தென் தமிழ் மரபு'—'வட ஆரியர் வழக்கு' என வேறுபிரித்துத் தெளிக்கப் பெற்றுளது. அவ்வறப்பழங்காலத்தும் அவ்விருநாகரிகமக்களும் ஒருவரை ஒருவர் மதித்துப் பாராட்டி வந்ததன்றி, இழித்துப் பழித்துப் பயின்றவரல்லரென்பதை இவ்விருபெருமொழிகளிலும் அக்காலத்து எழுந்த தலைமைப்புலவர்களின் விழுமிய நூல்கள் விளக்குகின்றன. இது நிற்க.

தொல்காப்பியம் தனித்தமிழ்இலக்கணமாகவே, அதன் சூத்திரப்பொருளைத் தெளிந்து துணிவதற்குத் தமிழ் மரபுகளே துணையாகுமென்பதையும், விதந்து விளக்கப் பெறாதவிடங்களில், தொல்காப்பியர் தாம் கூறுவது தமிழ்மரபேயெனத் தெளிவித்திருப்பதனால், தென்தமிழிலக்கணமான இதன் எல்லாச் சூத்திரங்களுக்கும் வட ஆரியர் வழக்குக்களையும் வடநூல் முடிபுகளையும் ஆதாரமாக்கி அவற்றிற்கிணங்கப் பொருள்காண முயல்வது தொல்காப்பியர்கருத்துக்கே மாறாகும் என்பதையுமே நான் எடுத்துக்காட்ட விடையேற்கின்றேன். தமிழ் ஆரிய மரபுவேறுபாடுகள் ஒரோவிடங்களில் எடுத்தாளப் பெறுவது இக்கட்டுரைக்கு இன்றியமையாததாகும். என்னெனில், இதில் யாண்டும் இவ்விருநாகரிக உயர்வு தாழ்வுகள் தூக்கி அளக்கப்பெறா. அது என் ஆராய்ச்சிக்குச் சிறிதும் அவசியம் அன்று. ஆத

லால், இவ்வாராய்ச்சிக்கட்டுரையில் மாறுபாட்டுணர்வுடன் நாகரிகமரபுகளின் ஏற்றத்தாழ்வு வேறுபாடுகளைத் தேடுபவர் உண்மையினைத் தெளியமாட்டார். நடுநிலையில் இலக்கண அமைதிகளை நுண்ணுணர்வான் நிறுத்து அளக்க எண்ணுவோர்க்கே இவ்வாராய்ச்சி பயன்படுவதாகும்.

(A) தொல்காப்பியப் பொருளதிகார ஆராய்ச்சியிற்கண்ட சில குறிப்புக்கள்.

ஆசிரியர் நூலியற்றியது, தமிழகத்தில் தமிழர்மரபு கூறும் பண்டைத்தமிழ் முதனூல்களையும், தமிழ்மக்கள் கையாண்ட வழக்குக்களையும் கவனித்து அவற்றை வடித்தெடுத்து, தமிழிலக்கியங்களுக் காமாறு இலக்கணமெடுத்தோதற்கே யென்பதை, பாயிரத்தும், நூலுட் பலஇடத்தும், பனம்பாரரும், ஆசிரியருமே விளக்கிப் போந்தனர். [cf. பாயிரம்; பொருள், அகம், சூத்திரம்-53] நூல்நுதல்பொருளே பாயிரம் நுவலுமாகலின், பாயிரக்கருத்தொடு முரண நூலினுட் பொருள் கூறல் பொருந்தாது. தொல்காப்பியம் நுதலிய பொருளைப் பாயிரம் விளக்குமாறு:—

" வடவேங்கடந் தென்குமரி
யாயிடைத்தமிழ்கூறு நல்லுலகத்து
வழக்குஞ் செய்யுளு மாயிரு முதலி
னெழுத்துஞ் சொல்லும் பொருளுநாடிச்
செந்தமிழியற்கை சிவணிய நிலத்தொடு
முந்துநூல் கண்டு முறைப்பட வெண்ணிப்
புலந்தொகுத்தோன் "

என்பதனல் நன்கு அறியப்படும். ஆதலால், தொல்காப்பியச் சூத்திரமெல்லாம் தமிழகத்திலுள்ள வழக்கங்களையும் தமிழ்நூல்களையுமே தழுவியும் ஆதரவாகக் கொண்டும் இயற்றப்பெற்றன வென்பதும், அப்பெற்றியே பொருள்படுவன வென்பதும் தொல்காப்பியத்திலேயே விதந்து விளக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. பிறவட நூன் மரபுகள் வடவாரியர் வழக்குகளைத் தம் நூலில் ஒப்புமை முதலிய கருதிச் சுட்டுமிடங்களில் அவை பிறநாட்டு மரபு வழக்குகளென்பதை ஆசிரியர் தாமே மயக்கத்துக்கிடனின்றி விளக்குகின்றார் :—

" இன்பமும் பொருளு மறனு மென்றாங்
கன்பொடு புணர்ந்த வைந்திணை மருங்கிற்
காமக்கூட்டங் காணுங் காலை
மறையோர் தேஎத்து மன்றலெட்டனுட்
டுறையமை நல்லியாழ்த் துணைமையோ ரியல்பே "

ஆசிரியரின் இச்செவ்வியமுறை அவர் அப்படிச் சுட்டாவிடங்களில் தொல்காப்பியச் சூத்திரங்கள் தமிழர் மரபுவழக்குகளொடு பழைய தமிழ் நூல்களைத் தழுவித் தமிழிலக்கணங்காட்டுவன என்பதைத் தெளிவாக்கும். அன்றியும், தமிழ் மரபுகளை விளக்கவந்த தமிழிலக்கணச் சூத்திரமனைத்தையும் பிறமொழி நூன்மரபுகளுக்குப் பொருந்த மொழிகளைச் சிதைத்தும் வதைத்தும் வலிந்து பொருள்தேட முயல்வது இயற்கையும் அறிவும் ஆகாது. ஆகையால், ஆசிரியர் தெற்றெனக்கூறித் தெளிவியா இடங்களிலெல்லாம், தமிழ்மரபும் தமிழ்மொழி யிலக்கணங்களுமே விளக்கப்படுதல் விசதம். ஆகவே, ஆரிய நாட்டார் வழக்கங்கள் அல்லது ஆசாரங்களையும் நூல்களையுமே கொண்டு தொல்காப்பியச் சூத்திரங்களுக்குப்பொருள் கூறிப் போவது பொருந்தாது; ஆசிரியர் கருத்துக்கும் அது முரணுவதாகும்.

ஆரியரின் வேதமும், தருமசாஸ்திரங்களும், ஆரிய நாட்டாரின் ஆசாரங்களும் ஆரியரல்லாத பிற சமூகத்தாரான தமிழருக்கு விதந்து கூறுவிடத்து இயைவனவல்ல; அவற்றைச் சுட்டுவதும் தனித்தமிழிலக்கணங்கூற வெழுந்த தொல்காப்பியர் கருத்தன்று என்பது தொல்காப்பியம் படிப்பவர் எல்லார்க்கும் மறக்கொணா முதற்கடனாகும். இக்கடமை கடைப்பிடித்து, தொல்காப்பியப் பொருளதிகாரத்தை ஆராயப் புகுங்கால், உரையாசிரியர்கள் இதனை மறந்து முற்றிலும் தமிழ் மரபுகளுடன் முரணிப் பொருந்தாப் புதுப்பொருள் கூறப் புகுந்து சூத்திரச் சொற்போக்கும் நூனோக்கும் இகந்து பிழைபட்டுச் சூத்திரங்களுக்குச் செம்பொருள் காணக்கூடாமற் போயினரெனத் தெரிகிறது. முக்கியமாக நச்சினார்க்கினியருரை மிகவு மிடர்ப்பட்டு, உண்மைப்பொருளைத் தெளிப்பதற்கு மாறாகப் பலவிடத்தும் ஐயந்திரிபுகளை மலிவித்து நடக்கின்றது. உதாரணமாக :—

I தொல், பொருள், புறம், சூத்திரம், 26.

“ அமரர்கண்முடியும் அறுவகையானும்
புரைதீர் காமம் புல்லிய வகையினும்
ஒன்றன் பகுதி ஒன்றுமென்ப ”

இதற்கு இளம்பூரணர் உரையாவது :—“அமரர்கண் முடியும் கொடிநிலை கந்தழி வள்ளி புலவராற்றுப்படை புகழ்தல் பரவல் என்பனவற்றினும், குற்றந் தீர்ந்த (ஐந்திணை தழுவிய அகமான) காமத்தைப் பொருந்திய வகையினும், அவற்றின் ஒருகூற்றின் பாகுபாடு பாடாண்டிணையாதற்குப் பொருந்தும்”, என்பதே.

“கொடிநிலை முதலிய ஆறும், கடவுட்புகழ்ச்சியன்றிப் பாட்டுடைத்தலைவனைச் சார்த்தி வருதல், காமப்பகுதியிற் பாடும் பாட்டுடைத்தலைவனைச் சார்த்தி வருதல், என்ற இவ்விருவகையானும் ஒருவனைப்புகழ்தலால் பாடாண் பாட்டாயிற்று” என்பது இச்சூத்திரத்தின்கீழ் இளம்பூரணர் தரும் விசேடவுரையாகும்.

[N. B. இங்குத் தரும் சூத்திர எண்கள் நச்சினார்க்கினியர் உரையில் வரும் சூத்திர எண்களாம்.]

இனி இதற்கு உரைகாணும் நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கூறுவது:—முதற்கண், "பாடாண்திணை தேவரும் மக்களும் என இருதிறத்தார்க்கே உரிய என்பார், இவ்விரண்டனுள் தேவர்பகுதி இவை யென்பதுணர்த்துகிறது" (இச்சூத்திரம்) என்று இச்சூத்திரக்கருத்தை வரைந்து கொள்ளுகின்றனர். பின்னர், தாம் வரைந்து கொண்ட கருத்துடன் பொருந்த,

"பிறப்புவகையானன்றிச் சிறப்புவகையால் தேவர்கண்ணே வந்து முடியும் அறுமுறை வாழ்த்தின்கண்ணும், அத்தேவரிடத்தே உயர்ச்சி நீங்கிய பொருளை வேண்டுங் குறிப்புப்பொருந்தின பகுதிக்கண்ணும், மேல் பாடாண் பகுதியெனப் பகுத்து வாங்கிக்கொண்ட ஒன்றனுள்—தேவரும் மக்களும் எனப்பகுத்த இரண்டனுள்—தேவர்க்குரித்தாம் பகுதியெல்லாந் தொக்கு ஒருங்குவரும் என்று கூறுவார் ஆசிரியர்" என்று பொருள் கூறலானார். இதன் பிறகு தாம் கூறும் புதுப்பொருளைப் பொருத்திக் காட்ட வேண்டி விசேடவுரையிற் பல வருவித்துக் கூறுவர். அவையிற்றுள் இங்குச் சில கூறுதும்.

அமரரான தேவர் பரவப்படுதலேயன்றி, "முனிவரும் பார்ப்பாரும் ஆனிரையும் மழையும் முடியுடை வேந்தரும் உலகு"மாக ஆறும் பரவப்படுங்கால் அப்பராவு தேவர்கண்ணே வந்து முடியுமென்பர். அன்றியும் பராவப்பெறுந் தேவரல்லா இவ்வாறும் "சிறப்பு வகையால் அமரர் சாதிப்பால என்றல் வேதமுடிவு" என ஓரமைதி காட்டுவர். இனி "புரைதீர் காமம் புல்லியவகை" என்பதில் புரையைக் குற்றமென்னாது அதற்கு மாறாய உயர்ச்சியெனக் கொண்டு, உயர்ந்த மறுமைப்பயனும் வீடுபேறு வேண்டாமல் இழிந்த இம்மைப்பயன்களை விரும்பித் தேவர்ப் பராவுதலை ஆசிரியர் "புரைதீர் காமம் புல்லிய" தாகக் கூறினாரெனக் கொள்ளவைக்கின்றார். "ஒன்றன் பகுதி ஒன்றும்" என்றற்கு "உரித்தாம் பகுதியெல்லாம் தொக்கு ஒருங்குவரும்" என்று கூறுவர். இச்சூத்திரத்துக்கு நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கண்ட இப்பொருள், இளம்பூரணர் உரையோடு மாறுபடுவதுடன், ஆசிரியர் தொல்காப்பியர் கருத்தும் ஆகாமை சிறிது சிந்திக்கச் சித்திக்கும்.

1. முதலில் தாம் கருதிய "ஆறுவகை"யினை ஆசிரியர் யாண்டு எவ்வாறு சுட்டினாரென்பதை இரண்டு உரைகாரருமே விளக்கினரில்லை. தாம் கூறக்கருதிய தொகைப்பொருள் இவையெனத் தாமே வகைசுட்டி விளக்காமல், உரைப்பார் உரைக்கும் வகையெல்லாம் சென்று அமையச் சூத்திரிப்பது இலக்கணநூல் நோக்குக்கும் தொல்காப்பியர் போக்குக்கும் பொருந்துவதன்று. ஆசிரியர் தாமே வரையறை செய்திலரெனில், அஃது அவர் நூலைக்கற்பவரை மயங்கவைக்கவும் மாறு கூறவும் இடந்தரும் இழுக்காய் முடியும். ஆசிரியர் கூறும் அறுவகையினை ஆசிரியர் நூலிலிருந்தே கண்டு தெளியாமையானே உரைகாரர் பலரும் பலவாறு தத்தம் மனம்போனவாறெல்லாம் மாறிக் கூறற்கிடனாயிற்று. இதனாலன்றே நச்சினார்க்கினியர் ஈங்கு அறுவகையினைப் பரவும் வகையாக்காமல் பரவப்படும் செயற்கைத் தெய்வப்போலிகளாம் 'படிமையோர் - பார்ப்பார் - பசு - மழை - மன்னர் - மண் என்'

றெண்ணிவைத்தார். இதற்கு மாறாக இளம்பூரணர் ஈண்டு இவ்வாறினையும் வணங் கப்பெறும் பொருள்களாக்காமல் வணக்க வகைகள் ஆறெனக்கொண்டு, ''கொடிநிலை கந்தழி, வள்ளி, புலவராற்றுப் படை, புகழ்தல், பரவல்'' என்று ஆறாக்கிக் கூறுவர். கற்றுவல்ல இருபேருரைகாரர் தம்முள் இவ்வாறு வெவ்வேறு பொருள் மாறுகூறு வரேல், கற்போர் இதற்குண்மைப்பொருள் துணிவதெப்படிக் கூடும்? இவ்வாறு பலரும் பலவாறு கூற இடம்வைத்துத் தெளிவின்றி மயங்குமாறு ஆசிரியர் சூத்திரி யாரென்பது ஒருதலை. அவர் துணிந்து தெரிக்க நுதலிய பொருளை நுவலும் இச் சூத்திரத்து அறுவகைகளை ஆசிரியர் நூலிற்கண்டு தெளிவதே கற்பவர்தங் கட னாகும்.

2. இனி, நச்சினார்க்கினியர் உரையில், நேரே பராவப்படும் பிறப்புவகை யால் இயற்கைத் தேவராவார் வேறு: தேவராய்ப் பிறவாவிடினும், வைதிகர்வாய்ச் சிறப்புவகையால் தாம் பெறும் வணக்கத்தை மெய்த்தேவர்பால் உய்க்கும் பொய்த் தேவப் போலிகள் அறுவர் வேறு எனக்கூறப்படுகிறது. எனவே, இது அசலும் நக லுமான தெய்வப் பகுதிகளிற் சென்று சேரும் வணக்க வகையெல்லாந் தொக்கு ஒருங்குவரும் இச்சூத்திரங் கூறவேண்டுவது எழுவகையாகவும், ஆசிரியர் சூத்தி ரத்தில் அறுவகையென மறந்து கூறினரென ஆசிரியரைப் பழித்ததாகும்.

3. இன்னும், இயற்கை வகைப் பிறவித்தேவரன்றியும், பராவு வெறியான் மக்கள் தாமே ''விகாரவகையான்'' அமரராக்கிச் செய்யும் அறுவகை வாழ்த்துப் பெறவைக்கும் செயற்கைப் பொய்த்தேவப் போலிகள் நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கூறுமாறு ஆறே எண்ணில் அமைவனவன்றே. புள், விலங்கு, ஊர்வன, ஆறு, மலை, மரம், செடி, கொடியாகிய பொருள்களில் வாழ்த்துக் கடியப்படுவ தொன்றேனு முண் டோ? பாம்பு, எலி, பருந்து, மயில், எருது, ஆல், வேல் அரசு அனைத்தையும் நாளும் நம்மவர் வணங்கக்காண்கிறோம். இது நல்ல வைதிக வழிபாடெனவே கருதப்படு கிறது. இவ்வழிபடு பொருள்களை மறக்கவும், புறக்கணித்து அவற்றிற்கு வழிபாட கற்றித் துறக்கவும், இவற்றின் வழிபாட்டை அனைவர்க்கும் விதித்து இவ்வுரைகார ருக்குமட்டும் விலக்கவும் வேதம் உரிமையேதுங் கூறிற்றுண்டோ? கீதையும் வேத மும்எப்பொருளுந் தெய்வமாகும், எதன் வணக்கமுந் தெய்வத்தின்பாற் சென்று சேருமென விளக்கியிருக்க ஈண்டுத் தேவர்கண் சென்று முடியும் வாழ்த்துப் பெறற் குரியனவாய்ப் பசு பார்ப்பாராதி ஆறினை மட்டும் நச்சினார்க்கினியர் எடுத்துரைப் பின், அவ் ஆறு மட்டுமே வழுத்துதற்குரியன வென்பது தொல்காப்பியருக்கும் உடன்பாடெனக் கொள்ள நியதியுண்டோ?

4. இனி, வேதம் தமிழர் படிக்கொணாதாகவே, வேதமுடிவென உரைகாரர் கூறுவதெல்லாம் சரியெனத் தமிழ்கற்பார் கொள்ளவும், கொண்டு வாளா அமைய வும் கடவரென நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கருதினர் போலும்! அவர் இங்குக்கூறிய அறு வகையினவே தேவர்க்காம் வணக்கம் பெறற்குரிய வென்று எந்த வேதம் எப்பகுதி யிற் கூறியுள்ளது? இதற்குத் தெளிவான வேதவாசகங் காட்டும் வரை இதுவே வேதமுடிவென்பது துணியப்படாததாகும்.

5. மேலும், ஆரியரின் வேதநூல் முடிவெதுவாயினும், அவற்றையெல்லாம் தொகுத்துக்கூற வெழுந்ததன்றே தொல்காப்பியம்? இங்கு இத்தமிழிலக்கண நூல் இப்புறத்திணைப் பகுதியில் தமிழர் மரபுகளைத் தொகுத்து விளக்குவதை யன்றே குறிக்கோளாகக் கொண்டுளது. ஆகவே, ஆசிரியர் தெளிவாக ஆரியவேதக் கருத்துக்களைத் தாம் கூறுவதாகக் குறியாவிடத்தெல்லாம், அவற்றின் உண்மையையுந் தெளியாமல், வலிந்திழுத்து இத்தமிழிலக்கணச் சூத்திரங்களுட் செறிக்கு முயற்சி ஆசிரியர் நூற்கருத்துக்கு மாறுவதுடன், பலவிடங்களில் பயனும் பொருளுமற்றதாகவும் முடியும்.

6. இனி, இச்சூத்திரம் ஒன்றனுக்கு இவ்விரு பேருரைகாரரும் தொடர்தொறுந் தொடர்பற்ற இருவேறு பொருள்கூறிப் போவதும் சிந்திக்கத்தக்கது. உரைப்பொருள் ஒன்றேயாய், உரைவிளக்குந் திறம் வேறுபடுவதியல்பு. இலக்கணச் சூத்திரத்தில் ஆசிரியர் நுதலிய பொருளும் அவர் கருத்தும் ஒன்றேயாதல் வேண்டும். இரு மறுதலைப்பொருள்களைத் தொல்காப்பியர் இவ்வொரு சூத்திரத்தில் கூறியிரார். ஆசிரியரின் உண்மைக் கருத்தையுணர்ந்த உரைகாரர் முற்றும் முரணும் இருவேறு பொருள்கள் ஒரு சூத்திரத்திற்குக் கூறுவது எப்படிக் கூடும்? எனினும், இங்கு இவ்விருவரும் ஒரு சிறிதும் தம்முள் ஒவ்வா வெவ்வேறு பொருள் கூறுவது வியப்பன்றோ?

(அ) இளம்பூரணர் இச்சூத்திரம் "கடவுட் புகழ்ச்சியன்றிப் பாட்டுடைத் தலைவனைச் சார்த்தி வருதலையே கருதிற்" றென்பர். நச்சினார்க்கினியர் "மக்களை விலக்கி, பிறப்புவகை மெய்த்தேவரும் சிறப்புவகைப் பொய்த்தேவுகளுமாக நேரிலும் பிரதிநிதிகளாகவும் மக்களின் வழிபாடுகொள்ளும் அசலும் நகலுமான தேவப் பகுதியொன்றனையே இச்சூத்திரமும், தேவரைவிட்டு மக்கட்பகுதியை "வழங்கியன் மருங்கின்" என்னும் அடுத்த 27 ஆம் சூத்திரமுமே கூறுவதாகக்குறிக்கின்றார்.

(ஆ) இனி, மேலே விளக்கியபடி, "அமரர்கண் முடியும் அறுவகை" என்பதற்கு உரையாசிரியர்-மக்கட்பாடாணுய் முடியும் தெய்வவணக்க வகையாறெனவும், நச்சினார்க்கினியர்-தாமே பாடாண்கொள்ள மக்களின் வணக்கம் பெறும் தேவர்வகை பிறப்பால் அசல் ஒன்றும், 'வேதமுடிபான்' மக்கள் 'விகாரவகையால்' தேவராகுஞ்சிறப்பால் செயற்கை நகல் தேவுகளாறும் ஆகுமெனவும், வெவ்வேறு பொருள் கூறுவர்.

(இ) "புரைதீர்காமம் புல்லியவகை" என்பதனை இளம்பூரணர் "குற்றந்தீர்ந்த (ஐந்திணைதழுவிய அகமாம்) காமத்தைப் பொருந்திய வகை" என்பர். நச்சினார்க்கினியர் "தேவரிடத்தே மறுமைப் பயனான வீடுவேண்டாமல், உயர்ச்சி நீங்கிய இம்மைப்பயன் தரும் பொருள்களை வேண்டுங்குறிப்புப் பொருந்தின பகுதி" என்கின்றார்.

(ஈ) இனி, "ஒன்றன் பகுதி ஒன்றுமென்ப" என்பதற்கு, இளம்பூரணர் "அவற்றுள் ஒரு கூற்றின் பாகுபாடு பாடாணுதற்குப் பொருந்தும் என்பர்" எனப்

"பகுதி சுட்டியபொருள்" கூறுவர். நச்சினார்க்கினியரோ "பாடாண்திணைப் பகுதியைத் தேவருமக்களு மெனப் பகுத்த இரண்டனுள் தேவர்க்குரிய பகுதியெல்லாந் தொக்கு ஒருங்குவருமென்று தொகுதி சுட்டியதாகக் கூறுவார் ஆசிரியர்" எனவுரை செய்வர்.

இவ்வாறு இம்மூன்றடிச் சூத்திரத்தில் இருவருரையுள் நால்வேறு மாறுபாடுகளுள. அடிதொறும் தொடர்தொறும் சொற்றொறும் இருவரும் வெதிரேகமாகப் பொருள் விரிக்கின்றனர். இதில் பின்னுரை வகுத்த நச்சினார்க்கினியரே பெரிதும் பிறழ்ந்துரைப்பதாகத் தெரிகிறது. முன்னையோரனைவரையும் மறுத்து அவர் காணமாட்டாப் புத்துரைகளும் புதிய கருத்துக்களும் தாம் கூறி வீறுபெறுங் குறிப்பு ஒன்று, சேனாவரையர் பரிமேலழகர்களைப்போல விரிந்தாழ்ந்த வடமொழிப் பயிற்சியின்றியும் வடநூன்முடிபுகளாகவே தமிழ்ப்பேரிலக்கண நூற்கருத்துக்களைக்காட்டி மகிழுங் குறிப்பு ஒன்று, ஆகிய இவ்விருகோள்பற்றிய மனப்பான்மையால் தெளிவான ஆசிரியரின் சொற்களைத் திரித்தும் பிரித்துக் கூட்டியும் தமிழ் மரபுக்கு மாறான உரையே கூறி இவர் மயங்குவாராகின்றார்.

7. இங்கு இச்சூத்திரத்தில் முதலடியில் "அறுவகை" என்பதொன்றற்கு ஆசிரியர் கருத்தறியாமல் இளம்பூரணர் வேறுபொருள் கூறினர்; அஃதன்றிப் பிறிதனைத்திற்கும் தமிழ்மரபுபேணி உண்மையுரையே கூறிப்போனார். நச்சினார்க்கினியரோ ஆசிரியர் கருத்தைமறந்து மரபுதுறந்து எல்லாவிடத்தும் பொருந்தாப் புத்துரை வகுக்க முயன்று முழுதும் வழுவுவாரானார். ஈற்றடியில் "ஒன்றனொரு பகுதியே பாடாணுக்கு ஒன்று" மென்று தெள்ளத்தெளிக்குஞ் சொற்றொடருக்குத் 'தேவர்க்குரித்தாம் எல்லாப்பகுதியுந் தொக்கு ஒருங்குவரு' மென்று விபரீதப் பொருள் கூறுதலும், "ஒன்று மென்ப" எனும் ஆசிரியர் கூற்றுத் தனக்குமுன்னூலாசிரியர் ஆன்ற பழந்தமிழ்வாணர் பலர் கூறுவரெனச் சுட்டவும், ஒன்று மென்பார் ஆசிரியரேபோலப் பொருள் கூறுவதுமே நச்சினார்க்கினியரின் மனப்பாங்கைக் காட்டுவதாகும்.

8. இன்னும், இவருரை பொருந்தாமை காண்பாம். தமிழிலக்கிய முழுதும் ஒன்று அகம் அன்றேல் புறமாக அமையும். அது மக்கள் வாழ்வு மனவியல்புகளொடு பொருந்தப் பத்தழகுகளுடன் விளங்குஞ் செய்யுள்களாகவே முடிவதனால், அத்தமிழ்நூல் மரபுகளை வடித்தெடுத்துத் தொகுத்து இலக்கணங்கூறும் நூல் தொல்காப்பியம். நூலால் வீட்டிலக்கணங் கூறலாகாமை வெளிப்படை. அறமும் இன்பமுமே மக்களால் மற்றைப்பொருளாகக் கொள்ளப்பெறுவன. பொருளாக்க முயற்சி யெல்லாம் இவ்விருபெரும் பொருளுக்கும் துணையும் தொடர்புமுண்மையான் எழுவனவாகும். அதனால் மக்கள் நுதலும் அனைத்துப் பொருளும் இன்பப் பகுதி தொக்க அகமும், அறப்பகுதி தொக்க புறமுமாயமையும்.

" ஆன்றசிறப்பி னறம்பொரு ளின்பமென
மூன்றுவகை நுதலிய துலகம். அவற்றுள்

அறமு மின்பமு மகலா தாகிப்
புறமெனப் படுவது பொருள்குறித் தன்றே"

என்பது பன்னிருபடலம். ஆகையால், தமிழிலக்கியப் பொருளாவன அகமும் புறமுமான இவ்விரண்டுமேயாம். ஆகவே, தமிழிலக்கண மெல்லாம், மக்கள் பொருளாகக் கருதற்கான இவ்விரண்டு கூறுகும். பொருட் பாகுபாட்டினையே கூறிப்போகும் இம்முறையில், பொருளதிகாரப் புறத்திணையிலக்கணப் பகுதியாகும் இச்சூத்திரமும் மக்கள் மரபு கூறுதலையே நுதலியதாகும். இவ்விலக்கணநூலில் தெய்வங்களைச் சுட்டும் பகுதிகளும் மக்களின்பால் முடிவனவேயாகு மல்லாமல் அறவே மக்களை விலக்கித் தெய்வப்பகுதி கூறுவனவாகா.

அன்றியும், தமிழ் நூற்களவில. அவையெல்லாம் அகமும் புறமுமாக மக்களைச் சார்ந்த பொருளையே கூறக் காண்பாம். புறத்திணையேழனுள் பிறவெல்லாம் மக்கட் பகுதியின்பாற் படுவனவேயாக, பாடாண்டிணையொன்று மட்டும் தேவர் மக்களொடு சரியுரிமைப்பாத்தீடு பகருவானேன்? இலக்கணநூலா ரெதுகருதினும் இலக்கியங்களிற் பாடாண்பகுதியெல்லாம் மக்கள்மாட்டு அமைந்து முடிவனவாகவே காணப் பெறுகின்றன. மக்கள்பாற்சென்று முடியாமல், தனித்தேவர்மாட்டுப் பராவலன்றிப் பாடாணுகை முடிந்த இலக்கியங்காணலரிது. இவ்வுண்மைகருதியே பாடாணிலக்கணப் பகுதியில் பாடாண் பாட்டெல்லாம் மக்களையே சாருமேனும், அவற்றுள் கொடிநிலை, கந்தழி, வள்ளி கொற்றவள்ளை என்ற சில பாடாண் துறைகள் பாட்டுடைத்தலைமகனைச் சார்த்திவரும் புறத்திணைப் பகுதியாமேனும், அப்படித் தலைமகனைச் சார்த்திவருமிடத்துக் கடவுள்வாழ்த்தொடு கண்ணிய(பொருந்த)வரும் எனப்புறனடை கூறப்பட்டுளது. பெரும்பாலும் கடவுள் கண்ணுத மக்கட்பாடாணுவதே மரபாகையால், கடவுள் கண்ணிய மக்கட்பாடாணுமுள வென ஆசிரியர் கூறல் வேண்டிற்று. எல்லாமேனும், பெரும்பகுதியேனும், மக்கட்சார்பற்ற கடவுளர் பாடாணுகு முறையுண்டேல், இப்புறனடைச் சூத்திரம் வேண்டற் பாற்றன்றே. வழிபாடுங் காமமும் தமக்குத் தனியுரிமைகொள்ளும் கடவுளர்கண்ணதாகும் பாடாண் பகுதியை இங்கு "அமரர்கண் முடியும்" எனுமிச் சூத்திரங்கூறுவதாயின், பின்னர்ப் பாடாண் பகுதியில் கடவுளர்தொடர்பு காத்தமைக்க, "காமப்பகுதி கடவுளும்வரையார்" "கொடிநிலை கந்தழி" முதலிய புறனடைச் சூத்திரங்கள் மிகையாய் முடியும். அதனுல் இச்சூத்திரத்தில் பின் புறனடைச் சூத்திரக் கருத்தொடு முரணுது அமையும் வேறு செம்பொருளொன்றனை ஆசிரியர் கூறக்கருதினரென்பது பெறப்படுகின்றது. அப்பொருள் தமிழ்மரபு தழுவியதும் ஆசிரியர் தம் நூலிலேயே தெளியத் தெரிப்பது மாதல் வேண்டும். அவ்வமைவுடைப்பொருளைக் காணுவதே முறையா மாகையால், இனி அதனை ஆராய்வோம்.

ஆசிரியர் புறத்திணைப் பகுதியிற் கையாளுமுறை கவனிக்கத்தக்கது. திணைதோறும் முதற்சூத்திரத்தில் இஃது இன்ன அகத்திணைக்குப் புறனுகும், இத்திணை இத்துணைத் துறைத்தொகை கொள்ளுமென்பர். அடுத்த சூத்திரத்தால் அத்திணை

யிலக்கணம் இனைத்தென விளக்குவர். பிறகு அத்திணை துறைகளை வகுத்து விரிப்பர். ஆசிரியர் வெட்சிமுதல் காஞ்சிவரை யெடுத்தாண்ட இம்முறை இவ்வியலினிறுதியில் இப்பாடாண் பகுதியிலும் பயிலப்படுவதியல்பே. ஆகவே, முன்னே :—

"பாடாண்பகுதி......நாலிரண்டுடைத்தே" எனப்பாடாணுக் கெதிராம் அகத்திணையும் அதன் துறைத்தொகையுங் கூறினர்; இங்கு இவ்வடுத்த சூத்திரத்தில் பாடாணிலக்கணம் பகருகின்றார். இலக்கணம் அதிவியாத்தி அவ்வியாத்திகளுக்கிடனின்றியமைய வேண்டும். உரைகாரர் கொள்கைப்படி இச்சூத்திரம் இவ்விருவகைக் குற்றமற்ற இலக்கணமாயமையாது. அவர்கள் கூறும்பொருளால் பாடாணுகும் எல்லாப்பகுதி யிலக்கணமும் இதிலடங்கவில்லை. ஒரு பகுதியான கடவுள்வகை யிலக்கணங்கூட இதில் முற்றும் அடங்காமலும் இதனை யுடன்தொடராமலும் பின் வேறு இருசூத்திரம் வேண்டுவதாகும். மேலும், பாடாண், வழக்கில் பெரும்பாலும் மக்களைச்சார்த்தி நடப்பதாகவும், நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கொள்கைப்படி தேவர் பகுதிக்கு ஆசிரியர் இதுவும் பின்னிரண்டுமாக மூன்று சூத்திரங்கள் வெவ்வேறிடங்களிற் கூறிவிட்டு, மக்கட்பகுதியிலக்கணத்தைத்தான் சுட்டியதோ எனத் துணிந்து தெளியக்கூடாத "வழங்கியன் மருங்கின்" எனுமொரு சூத்திரத்தில் மக்கட்பாடாண் இலக்கண முழுதும் விரித்தனரெனல் பொருந்தாது. இப்பாடாண் திணையிலக்கணத்தை மட்டும் ஆசிரியர் இவ்வியலில் சுண்ணம்போலச் சிதறக்கூறினரென்பதும் பொருத்தமில்லை. அதனல் ஆசிரியர் மற்றப்புறத்திணைகளுக்குக்கொண்ட செம்முறையே இதற்குங் கொண்டு இச்சூத்திரத்திற் பாடாணிலக்கணத்தைச் சுருக்கி உலப்பற உரைத்தமைத்தா ரென்பதே சாலப்பொருந்துவதாகும். ஊன்றி நோக்கின் இதுவே உண்மையென உணரலாகும்.

(தொல்காப்பியர்) "நூலகத்து (பொருளதிகாரம்) விரித்துக்கூறிய பொருள் யாதெனின் (அகமாகிய) காமப்பகுதியும் (புறமாகிய) வீரப்பகுதியுமென்க" என்று இளம்பூரணர் கூறுமாறு, அகத்திணையெல்லாம் பால்பற்றிய அன்பு அல்லது காமப் பகுதி குறிப்பனவும், புறத்திணையெல்லாம் வீரம் வெற்றி பகைவரைப் போர் தொலைத்தல் முதலிய மறம்படு துறைகளையே குறிப்பனவுமாகும். ஆகவே, தமிழிலக்கணம் நுதலிய பொருளெல்லாம் அகமும் புறமுமாயடங்கும். அகமனைத்தும் காமம் புல்லிய பலதுறைப்பகுதியவாம். இவற்றைக் கைக்கிளைமுதல் பெருந்திணையிறுவாய்த் திணையேழாக்கி அகத்திணையியலில் ஆசிரியர் விளக்கிப் போந்தார். பின்னர் அதுவேபோல் வீரம்பற்றிய புறப்பகுதியனைத்தையும் இப்புறத்திணையியலில் புறத்திணை யேழென அவர் வகுத்துக்கொண்டார். அவற்றுள் வெட்சிமுதல் காஞ்சியீறாகக்கூறிய ஆறு புறத்திணைகளும் பொருநர் அல்லது வீரர்பால் சார்ந்தே முடியுமென்பதை அவற்றினிலக்கணம் விளக்குஞ் சூத்திரங்களால் விளங்க வைத்தார். புறத்திணைவகை கூறுவனவாக இளம்பூரணர் புறத்திணைப்புறவுரையில் எடுத்துக்காட்டும் பழைய சூத்திரங்களும் இக்கருத்தையே வலியுறுத்தாநிற்கும் :—

"அவைதாம், வெட்சி கரந்தை வஞ்சி காஞ்சி
உட்குவரு சிறப்பி னுழிஞை நொச்சி
முரண்மிகு சிறப்பிற் றும்பையுள்ளிட்ட
மறனுடை மரபி னேழே யேனை
அமர்கோண் மரபின் வாகையுஞ் சிறந்த
பாடாண் பாட்டொடு பொதுவிய லென்ப."

"பல்லமர் செய்து படையுட் டப்பிய
நல்லாண் மாக்கள் எல்லாரும் பெறுதலின்
திறப்பட மொழிந்து தெரிய விரித்து
முதற்பட வெண்ணிய எழுதிணைக்கு முரித்தே."

தமிழ் மரபுகூறும் இப்பழைய மேற்கோள் பலவும் புறத்திணைகள் "மறனுடைமரபின", "அமர்கோண் மரபின", "வீரப்பகுதிய" எனவே பேசுவதாலும் இவ்வுண்மை தெளியப்படும். ஆகவே, அகமெல்லாம் காமம்புல்லிய வகையும், புறமெல்லாம் "மறனுடை" "அமர்கொண் மரபின்" வகையுமாயடங்கும். இவ்வாறு அகம்புறமெனும் இருதிறம்படு திணைகளின் பலதுறைப்பகுதியுள், பீடுடையார் பாடு கூறற்கமைவது எதுவோ அதுவே பாடாண் எனப்பெறும்.

பாடாண்டிணை தனக்கெனத்தனிநிலம் படைக்கப்பெற்றிலது; அகமும் புறமுமாகும் பிறதிணைத் துறைகளனைத்தையுமே தனக்கு நிலக்களனாகப் பெற்று நிற்கும். இலக்கியங்களிலும், உரைகாரர் காட்டும் உதாரணங்களிலும் வெட்சிப்பாடாண், வஞ்சிப்பாடாண், உழிஞைப்பாடாண், தும்பைப்பாடாண், வாகைப்பாடாண், காஞ்சிப்பாடாண் எனப்பிற புறத்திணை ஆறனடியாக வரும் அறுவகையும், கைக்கிளைப்பாடாண், கற்புப்பாடாண், அன்பொடு புணர்ந்த ஐந்திணைமருங்கிற் காமப்பாடாண், என அகம்பற்றி யெழுவனவாம் ஒருவகையுமாய்ப் பாடாண் பகுதியனைத்தும் அடங்கக் காண்போம். இவையன்றிப் பிறிதுவகைப் பாடாணெதுவுங் கருதற்கில்லை. பாடாணெனவே, பாட்டுடைத்தலைவர்தம் பீடு அல்லது பெருமை கூறுதலே இத்திணையின் குறிக்கோளாகும். 'பெருமை தவிர்க்குந் துறையெதுவும் பாடாணாதற்கில்லை. ஆகவே, அகப்பகுதியில் நோந்திறமாம் இழிகாமப் பெருந்திணை யாண்டும் பாடாணெனப்படாது. பிற அகப்பகுதியனைத்தும் புறத்திற் பாடாணாதற்குரியவாம். இக்கருத்தானே "புறத்திணை மருங்கில்" எனும் அகத்திணையியல் இறுதி (58-ம்) சூத்திரத்தின்கீழ் இளம்பூரணரும் "புறத்திணையுள் பாடாண்பாட்டும் அகமாம் நற்காமம் பொருளாக வரும்" என விளக்கியுள்ளார். எனவே, இவ்வாறகப்பகுதிப் பொருள்களுள்ளும் அமைவதைக் களனாக்கொண்டு பாடாண்திணை சமையுமெனல் பாடாண்டிணைக் குரியவும் போதியவுமான இலக்கணமாகும். இவ்விலக்கணத்தையே புறத்திணையியலிறுதியில் பாடாண்பகுதி கூறும் சூத்திரமும் விளக்குவதாகும்.

இனி இச்சூத்திரத்தைக் கண்ணழித்து உண்மைப்பொருள் தெளியுமுன், இங்குக் கவனிக்கத்தக்கது இன்னு மொன்றுளது. "அமரர்" என்னுஞ் சொல் தேவரையே குறிப்பதெனக் கொள்ளவேண்டா. அவ்வாறு கொண்டதுதான் உரைகாரரை ஆசிரியரின் உண்மைக்கருத்தையும் தமிழிலக்கணமரபையும் பாடாணிலக்கண வியல்பையும் நினையாமல் மறப்பித்து இச்சூத்திரத்துக்குப் பொருந்தாப் புத்துரை கூறப்பண்ணியது. ஒரு சொல்லின் பல பொருள்களில், இடத்தொடும் ஆசிரியர் நுதலிய பொருளொடும் பொருந்துவதொன்றை ஆய்ந்தெடுத்தாளுவதே அறிவுடைமைக்கு அவதியாகும். "அமரர்" என்பது 'அமர்' என்பதனடியாகப் பிறந்த குறிப்புவினைப்பெயர். 'அமர்' என்பது போட்டி-போர் எனும் பொருளில் வரும். அதனுல் "அமரர்" என்பதும் வீரர் அல்லது பொருவோர் எனப்பொருள்படல் இயல்பாம். இதுவே மிகப்பொருந்துஞ் செம்பொருளாம். தேவரை அமரர் எனல் வடமொழிவழக்காதலால் அப்பொருளிலும் இச்சொல் கடியப்பெருது. பொருந்துழி அப்பொருளுங் கொள்ளத்தகும். எனினும், இச்சொல்லின் முதனிலைப் பொருளோடு பொருந்த வீரர்—பொருவோர் எனும் நேர்பொருள் பொருந்து மிடத்தும் இச்சொல் யாண்டும் தேவரையே சுட்டுவதாகக் கொள்ள நியமமில்லை. அன்றியும், "அடையலர் பெயருந் தேவரு மமரர்" எனப் பிங்கலந்தை இச்சொல்லுக்குத் தரும் இருபொருள்களுள் முதற்கண் அடையலராகிய வீரரைச் சுட்டுதலும் ஈண்டு உற்று நோக்கத்தகும். இப்பாடாணிலக்கணச் சூத்திரத்தின் முதலடி ஆதியில் "அமர்க்கண் முடியும் அறுவகையானும்" என்றிருந்து, பின் சுவடி பெயர்த்தெழுதுவோரால் பாடந்திரிந்து "அமரர்கண் முடியும் அறுவகையானும்" எனமாறிற்றே எனு மையமும் நிகழலாம். பன்னிரு படலத்தில் புறத்திணைகளெல்லாம் "அமர் கொண் மரபின" எனப் பெறுவதனேடு இப்பாடம் ஏற்புடையதாகும். இனி இதைவிடுத்து இப்போதிருப்பதே சரியான பாடமெனக் கொள்ளினும், புறத்திணைகளின் பான்மை பன்னிருபடலச் சூத்திரம் விளக்குவதேயாமாகையால் அதனேடு முரணது அமையும் பொருள் இப்பாடாண் சூத்திரமுதலடிக்கும் பொருந்துமெனக் கொள்ளுதலே முறையாகும். இனி இப்பாடாணிலக்கணச் சூத்திரத்தை நின்றவாறு கண்ணழித்துச் செம்பொருள்காண முயல்வோம்.

பாடாணிலக்கணங் கூறுமிச்சூத்திரப் பொருளாவது :—

" அமரர்கண் முடியும் அறுவகையானும் "=வீரர் அல்லது மறனுடைப் பொருநர்பால் சென்று அமைவனவாக ஆசிரியர் மேலே விரித்துத்தெரித்த வெட்சி முதல் காஞ்சியீருன புறத்திணைவகை ஆறுனும்; "புரைதீர்காமம் புல்லியவகையினும்"=குற்றமற்ற அகப்பகுதியாம் அன்பளைந்த காமவகையானும்; " ஒன்றன் பகுதி ஒன்றும் என்ப "=இயல்பான அகப்புறத்திணை வகைகளில் இதற்கு அமைவதான ஒரு கூற்றின் பாகுபாடு பாடாணுதற்குப் பொருந்துவதாகும் என்று தமிழாசிரியர் கூறுவர்.

இதுவே இச்சூத்திரச் சொற்றெடர் சுட்டும் செம்பொருளாம். சுருங்கக் கூறின், இச்சூத்திரக்கருத்தாவது குற்றமற்ற அகத்திணைப் பகுதிகளிலும், புறத்

தில் இதற்குமுன் மேலே கூறிமுடித்த ஆறுதிணைப்பகுதிகளிலும் பாட்டுடைத் தலைவரின் பீடு அல்லது பெருமை பேசற்கு இடனுயமையு மெனைத்துவகையும் பாடாணுகமுடியும்—என்பதே. மேலே வெட்சிமுதற் கூறிய புறத்திணைகள் ஆறும் அமரர் வீறு கண்ணியனவேயாம். அகப்பகுதிகளில் "நோந்திறமாய் இழிந்தாரிடத் தன்றி மேலோர்க் காகாப்பெருந்திணை" பொருந்தா இழிகாமமாகையால், அது பெருமைப்பெற்றிப் பேசும் பாடாணுக்குதவாது. எனவே, இக்குற்றமுடைய பெருந்திணையைவிலக்கி, எவ்வகையிலுங் குற்றமற்ற 'அன்பொடு புணர்ந்த' களவு-கற்பு-"செந்திறக் கைக்கிளை" யாதிய மற்றைக்காமப் பகுதியனைத்தும் பாடாண்டிணையின்பாற்பட்டு அமைவதாகும். இவ்வகப்புறத்திணைப் பகுதிகளுள்ளும் எல்லாம் பாடாணெனக் கொள்ளல் கூடா. இவற்றுள் பாடாணுயமையும் வகைகள் அல்லது கூறுபாடுகள் மட்டுமே பாடாணுகு மென்று ஆசிரியர் இச்சூத்திரத்தால் விளக்கினுராவர்.

இனி, அகப்பகுதியில் இவ்வாறே ஆசிரியர் கருத்தறியாமல் உரைகாரர் மயங்கப் பொருள் கூறுமிடங்களிற் சிலவற்றையு மிங்குக் குறிப்பாம் :—

II. பொருளதிகாரம் - களவியல் - சூத்திரம் 13.

"பாங்கர் நிமித்தம் பன்னிரண்டென்ப"

இது இளம் பூரணத்திலுள்ளது. நச்சினுர்க்கினியர் இதில் பன்மையை ஒருமையாக்கி, "பாங்க னிமித்தம் பன்னிரண்டென்ப" எனப்பாடங்கொண்டு, பொருளும் சிறிது மாற்றிக்கூறினுர். இருவருரையும் ஆசிரியர் கருத்தொடு பொருந்துவதாயில்லை எனத்தெரிகிறது. முதலில், பன்னிரண்டாவன இவையெனத் தொல்காப்பியர் யாண்டுக்கூறினுர் என்பதை இரண்டு உரைகாரருமே சுட்டிலர். இலக்கணநூலில், ஆசிரியர் தாம் நுதலிய பொருளை இனைத்தெனத்தெளிவியாதிரார். படிக்கும் பலரும் பலவாறு திரியக்கொள்ளவைப்பது இலக்கணநூலில் இழுக்காகும். ஈண்டு இளம்பூரணர் கொண்ட 12-உம், நச்சினுர்க்கினியர் கூறும் 12-உம், தம்முள் வேறுபடுகின்றன. இவருள் இளம் பூரணர் முதலில் உரைகண்டவர். இருவரும் இருவேறு 12 நிமித்தம் வகுத்தெண்ணச் சூத்திரம் இடந்தராது. இருவரில் ஒருவரேனும், இருவருமேனும் தவருகக் கூறினராதல் வேண்டும். இருவர் கூற்றும் ஆசிரியர் கருத்தாயமைதல் கூடாது.

இனி, யாண்டும் இவ்வீருரைகாரரும் ஆசிரியர் வகுத்து 12 நிமித்தங்கூறிய இடத்தையேனும், ஆசிரியரே சுட்டிய நிமித்தப்பெயர்களையேனும் காட்டவுமில்லை. எனவே, இனி மூன்ருவ தொருவர் முன்னிருவருங் கூருத புதிதான பன்னிரண்டு நிமித்தங்களையே இச்சூத்திரக் கருத்தாகக் கூறவுங்கூடும். ஆசிரியர் நுதலிய 12 யாவை எனமுடிவு காண்பதெப்படி ? இவ்வாறு ஐயத்திற்கிடனுகச் சூத்திரித்தார் என்பது நூலியல்புக்கும் ஆசிரியர் பெருமைக்கும் பொருந்தாது.

[N. B. இதில் வரும் சூத்திர எண்கள் நச்சினுர்க்கினியர் உரையில் தரும் எண்களாம்.]

இரண்டாவதாக, களவியற்ரெடக்கத்தில் வரும் இச்சூத்திரத்தில் கற்பின் பாற்படுங் கூட்டங்களை ஆசிரியர் கூறினரென்பது கொள்ளற்பாற்றன்று. இரண்டு உரைகாரருமே எட்டு மணத்தையும் ஈண்டுத்தொல்காப்பியர் கருதி இச்சூத்திர மியற்றியதாகக் கொள்ளுகின்றனர். இது ஆசிரியர் கற்பிலக்கணங்களைப் பின்வேறிய லாக்கி இங்குக்களவிலக்கணங் கூற எழுந்த இவ்வியலுக்கும் நூற்போக்குக்கு மியைவதன்று.

இனி, பைசாசம், இராக்கதம், ஆசுரம்போன்ற பல கூட்டங்களும் இடையே பாங்கரை இன்றியமையா நிமித்தமாகக் கொள்ளவேண்டுவனவுமல்ல.

அதான்று, அவை களவியலில் இலக்கணங் கூறப்பெறக் காரணமுமில்லை.

இன்னும், களவின் பகுதியாகிய உடன்போக்கைக் களவின்வேறாய் விதந்தோதி வேறெண்ணலும், கற்பின் பகுதிகளான பல கிழத்தியரையும் பரத்தையரையுங் கூடுங் கூட்டங்களை யெல்லாந் தனிவேறெண்ணிக் கூட்டலும், கற்பை இக்களவியற்பகுதியி லிழுத்தெண்ணலும் பொருத்த மின்றாம். இவ்வாறு பிரித்துக்கூட்டினலன்றி இளம்பூரணருரையில் நிமித்தம் 12 நிரம்புமாறில்லை.

அஃதேபோல், நச்சினர்க்கினியத்தில் களவினைந்திணையை ஐவகையாக்கியதும், அவற்ரெடு களவுக்கு ஒப்பான கந்தருவத்தை நீக்கி மற்றை மறையோர்தேயத்து மன்றலெனும் எழுங்கூட்டிப் பன்னிரண்டாக்குவதும் பொருந்துவதன்றாம். அன்றியும், எல்லாநிலத்தும் புணர்ச்சி நிகழுமேனும் எல்லாத்திணையுங்கூட்டமாகா. கூட்டத்திற்கு வேண்டப்படும் பாங்கன் நிமித்தம் பன்னிரண்டும் இரங்கல், இருத்தல், பிரிவு என்பவற்றுள் இடம் பெறற்கில்லை. இவைகளை யெண்ணிக் கூட்டிப் பன்னிரண்டாக்கிக் களவுக்கூட்டத்திற்காம் நிமித்தம் இவையெனல் பொருந்தாது. அன்றியும், நச்சினர்க்கினியர் கூட்டத்திற்குரிய பாங்கரெல்லாம் பார்ப்பனப் பாங்கராகக் கொண்டதற்கும் நியமமில்லை.

கடைசியாக, பிரமமுதல் பைசாச மிறுதியாக எண்ணப்படும் எட்டும் ஆரியர் நூலில் மக்களுள் நடக்கக்கூடியனவாகக்கண்ட கூட்டமன்றி, அவையெல்லாம் வதுவை மணமாகா. எனைத்தாயினும் அவற்றைத் தமிழரின் அன்பிற்சிறந்த காமக்கூட்டத்தொடு இணைத்தெண்ணவும், அவற்றிற்காவனவற்றைக் களவுக்கூட்ட நிமித்தங் கூறுமிடத்து ஆசிரியர் கூறக்கருதினரென்றெண்ணவும், பாயிரத்தானும் நூற்போக்கானுந் துணியப்பட்ட ஆசிரியர் நோக்கம் இடந்தராது. ஆகவே, ஈண்டு இவ்வுரைகள் தவறுதல் வெளிப்படை. அதனல் ஆசிரியர் சுட்டியநிமித்தமாவன பன்னிரண்டும் யாவையென ஆய்ந்து தெரியற்பாற்றாம். அவை யாவையாயினும், ஆசிரியர் நூலிலே கூறப்பட்டவையாகவே இருத்தல் வேண்டும். நுதலிய பொருளிலக்கண முழுவதும் ஒரு சூத்திரத்திலேயே உரைத்துத்தீரவேண்டுமெனும் நியதியில்லை. ஒன்றில் தொகையும் மற்றொரு சூத்திரத்தில் அதன் வகையுங்கூறிப்போதல் ஆசிரியர் முறையென்பதைத் தொல்காப்பியத்திற் பலவிடத்துங் காணலாம். ஆனல், தாம் நுதலிய தொகையின் வகைவிவரத்தைத் தாமே வகுத்து விளக்காமல், பிறர்

மயங்கவும் மாற்றிக்கூறவும் இடம்வைத்து வகையே கூறுதொழிவது ஆசிரியர் நூலில் யாண்டுங்காண்டற்கில்லை. ஆதலால் இங்கு அவர் தொகை பன்னிரண்டெனச்சுட்டிய பாங்கர் நிமித்தங்களின் வகைவிவரமும் இச்சூத்திரத்தை யடுத்தே ஆசிரியர் கூறிவைத்திருப்பர் எனக்கருதுவது தவறாகாது. இந்நினைவோடு துருவிப் பார்த்தால் இதற்கு முன்னதற்கு முன்னைய சூத்திரத்தில் இப்பன்னிரண்டும் வேறு சில நிமித்தங்களுடன் சேரக்கூறப்பட்டிருப்பதைக் காணலாம்.

களவியலில் இதற்குத் தொடர்புடையதாய்ச் சிறிது முன்னின்ற 11-ஆம் சூத்திரம்

"மெய்தொட்டுப் பயிறல்..............
....
மடன்மாகூறு மிடனுமாருண்டே"

என்பதாகும். இதில் இயற்கைக் கூட்டம், இடந்தலைப்பாடு, பாங்கற் கூட்டம், பாங்கியிற் கூட்டம் எனும் "களவிற்கூட்டம் நான்கினும்" சென்று அமையும் நிமித்தங்கள் நிரல்பட விளக்கப்பெறுகின்றன. இதிற் கூறப்பட்ட இருபதனுள் "மெய்தொட்டுப் பயிறல்" முதல் 'தீராத்தேற்றம்" வரையெண்ணிய "இருநான்கு கிளவியும்" இயற்கைக்கூட்டம் இடந்தலைப்பாடு என்னும் இவ்விரண்டன் பகுதியவாம். அடுத்த நான்கும் பாங்கனுற்கூடும் கூட்டத்திற்கும், இறுதி எட்டும் பாங்கியிற் கூட்டத்திற்குமாகப் பன்னிரண்டு நிமித்தங்களும் ஆசிரியர் விளக்கியுள்ளார். இதுவே ஆசிரியர்கருத்தும் அவர்கொண்ட முறையும் என்பது, இச்சூத்திரங்கூறும் நிமித்தங்கள் இருபதில் பாங்கர் நிமித்தமாகாதனவற்றை "இருநான்கு கிளவியு" மெனமுதலில் ஆசிரியர் தொகை கூறிப்பிரித்தமையானும், அவைநீக்கி எஞ்சியவற்றையே "பாங்கர் நிமித்தம் பன்னிரண்டென்ப" எனப் பின் 13-ஆம் சூத்திரத்தால் தொகுத்துக் கூறினமையானும், எல்லாவுரைகாரரும் இந்த 11-ஆம் சூத்திரத்தின் கீழ்ப் பாங்கன்பாங்கிகளான இருவகைப் பாங்கர் நிமித்தம் இப்பன்னிரண்டாகவே உடன்பட்டுக் கூறுதலானும் தெளிவாகின்றது. ஆகவே, பாங்கன் பாங்கிகளாலாய கூட்டத்திற்கான நிமித்தம் பன்னிரண்டும் இச்சூத்திரத்தில் "பாங்கர் நிமித்தம் பன்னிரண்டென்ப" எனத்தெளிக்கப் பட்டுள்ளன. இவை மற்றைய இயற்கைக் கூட்டம் இடந்தலைப்பாடுகளின் நிமித்தம் எட்டனோடும் இங்குச்சேர்த்துக் கூறப்பட்டு எல்லாம் தலைவன் கூற்று நிகழ்தற்கிடனாகுமென்று பொதுப்படக்கூறியதனால், இதில் ஆசிரியர் பாங்கன் பாங்கியிருவராலாங் கூட்டங்களுக்கு வரும் நிமித்தங்களைப் பிரித்து, முன்னைச் சூத்திரத்திற் கூறிய இருபதனுள் "பாங்கர் நிமித்தம் பன்னிரண்டென்ப" எனத்தனியே வேறுதொகுத்து இச்சூத்திரத்தில் விளக்கிப் போந்தார். எனவே, இக்களவியல் 13-ஆம் சூத்திரத்தில் ஆசிரியர் தொகுத்துக்கூறிய பாங்கர் நிமித்தம் பன்னிரண்டாவன, முன்னைய 11-ஆம் சூத்திரத்துப் பிற்பகுதியில் "பெற்றவழி மகிழ்ச்சியும்" என்பது முதல் "தோழி, நீக்கலினாகிய நிலையுநோக்கி, மடன்மாகூறு மிடனுமாருண்டே" என்பதீறாகவகுத்து விளக்கிய

பன்னிரண்டுமேயாம் என்பது அங்கை நெல்லிபோற் சங்கையறத் தெளியக்கிடைக்கின்றது.

ஆசிரியர்க்கு இதுகருத்தாமேல், வகைகூறிய முன்னைப் பதினோராஞ் சூத்திரத்தை ஒட்டி இத்தொகைச் சூத்திரத்தை நிறுத்தாமல் இடையே பிறிதொரு சூத்திரம் வரவைத்தது ஏனெனில், கூறுவன். "மெய்தொட்டுப்பயிறல்" என்னுஞ் சூத்திரம், நால்வகைக் களவுக்கூட்டநிமித்தங்களை வகுத்துக்கூறினும், அவையெல்லாம் தலைவன் கூற்று நிகழ்தற் கிடனுமாறு கூறுதலை நுதலிற்று. தலைவன் கூற்று நிகழ்தற்கேதுவாய பிறசிலவும் ஈண்டுத் தொடர்புடைமைகருதி "பண்பிற் பெயர்ப்பினும்" எனும் சூத்திரத்தில் அவற்றையும் இதனையடுத்துத் தொகுத்துவைத்தார். அதன் பின் முன்னைய சூத்திரத்தில் தலைவன் கூற்றிற்கிடமாயவற்றை யெல்லாம் வகுத்து விளக்கியதனுல், அவற்றில் பாங்கர் நிமித்தமாவன பன்னிரண்டே எனத்தெளித்தற்கு இத்தொகைச்சூத்திரங் கூறினர். அன்றியும், பாங்கன்-பாங்கிகளினிமித்தங்களான இப்பன்னிரண்டனுள் முன்னைய மூன்றும் கைக்கிளைக்கும், பின் இறுதிய நான்கும் பெருந்திணைக்கும் பொருந்தற்பால எனவும், இடையைந்தும் எஞ்ஞான்றும் ஐந்திணைக் களவுக் கூட்டத்திற்கே யாமெனவும், இவற்றிற்கியைவதோர் சிறப்பிலக்கணமு மிங்குத்தாம் கூறுகின்றாராகலின், அதற்குமிப்பாங்கர் நிமித்தம் 12 எனுந்தொகை பிரித்து முன்கூறவேண்டினராசிரியர். இவை பலவும் செவ்வனே சொல்லமைதியும் சூத்திரத்தொடர்புங்கருதி உய்த்துணருங்கால், இச்சூத்திரங்களுக்கு இளம்பூரணரும் நச்சினார்க்கினியரும் கொண்ட உரை, ஆசிரியர் கருத்தாகாமை தெளிவாகும்.

களவியற் சூத்திரம்—14 - 15.

" முன்னைய மூன்றுங் கைக்கிளைக் குறிப்பே
பின்னர் நான்கும் பெருந்திணை பெறுமே "

" முதலொடு புணர்ந்த யாழோர் மேன
தவலருஞ் சிறப்பி னைந்நிலம் பெறுமே"

இவற்றுள் முதலதற்குப் பழைய உரைகாரர் இருவரும், மறையோர் தேயத்து மன்றல்களான பிரமம், பிரசாபத்தியம், ஆரிடம், தெய்வம், காந்தருவம், ஆசுரம், இராக்கதம், பைசாசம் என்ற எட்டனுள் பிரமமுதல் தெய்வமீறாகவுள்ள நான்கும் பெருந்திணை கொள்ளும் எனவும், இறுதிமூன்றான ஆசுரம், இராக்கதம்,பைசாசங்கள் கைக்கிளைக்குறிப்பாமெனவும் பொருள் கூறினர். இதுபொருந்தாது.

(1) முதலில் இவ்வெட்டுக் கூட்டங்களையே ஈண்டுக்கருதுவதான குறிப்பு ஆசிரியர் கூற்றிலில்லை. இரண்டாவதாக, தமிழரின் களவிலக்கணப் பகுதியில் களவுக்கூட்டம் நால்வகை கூறி, அவற்றினிடைத் தலைவன் கூற்று நிகழ்தற்கான நிமித்தங்களை முன் 11-ஆம் சூத்திரத்தில் விளக்கிப் பின் 16-ஆவது சூத்திரத்தில் தலைவி

கூறறுக் கூறுமாசிரியர் இவற்றினிடையில் தமிழ் நாட்டிற்குச் சம்பந்தமில்லாத வடநூல்களில் வரும் எட்டுக் கூட்டத்தை இழுப்பதற்கு இயையும் அவசியமுமில்லை எடுத்தாளும் பொருளுக்கு இன்றியமையாத தொடர்புடைய வல்லாத வடநூற் கூட்ட மெட்டினையுங் குறிக்கவிரும்பி யிருப்பின், ஆசிரியர் அதனைவிதந்து கூறி விளக்கி யிருப்பர். அவ்வாறு தம் விருப்பை விளக்காமலும், "முன்னைய மூன்று," "பின்னர் நான்கு" என இங்குத்தாம் சுட்டுபவை யெவை? எவற்றனுள் இவற் றைத்தாம் பிரித்துக் கூறியது? என்பவற்றைத் தெளிவாக்காமலும், வாளா முன் மூன்று பின் நான்கு எனுந்தொகையளவில் நிறுத்தி அவற்றின் வகையை விளக் காமல், மயக்கத்திற்கும் வேண்டியார் வேண்டியாங்கு விரித்தற்குக் களனாகவும் ஆசிரியர் தம் அரிய இலக்கணநூலில் இடந்தருவாரல்லர். ஆதலால், ஈண்டு மூன்று நான்கு எனத்தொகுத்தவை ஆசிரியரே வகைவிரித்து விளக்கியுள்ளவற்றைக் குறிப்பனவாகக் கொள்ளுவதே மரபும் முறையுமாகும்.

(2) இனி, இவ்வாரியநூற் கூட்டமெட்டினையே குறிப்பதாகக் கொள்ளி னும், அவற்றுள் முதலி லெண்ணப்பெறும் பிரமம், பிரசாபத்தியம், ஆரிடம் என்ற மூன்றைக் கைக்கிளையாகவும், பின்னான்கான தெய்வதம், காந்தருவம், ஆசுரம், இராக்கதம் என்பவை பெருந்திணையாகவுங் கொள்ளல் வேண்டும். இவைதாம் இவ்வெட்டனுள் முன்மூன்று, பின்னான்கு என வரிசையில் எண்ணற்குரியவாகும். இதனைவிட்டு, இறுதி மூன்று கைக்கிளை முதலில் நான்கு பெருந்திணை என, ஆசிரிய ரின் விசதவாக்குக்கு விரோதமாக மாற்றிக்கூற நியாயமில்லை. நிரலே இவ்வரிசையில் இவற்றை யமைத்துக் கூறுவதிலேற்படும் சில அசங்கதங்களை விலக்கவேண்டி உரைகாரர் தமது இயையாவுரைக்கு அமைய அமையாவரிசை முறைமாற்றிக் கூற லானார்.

(3) இனி, புணர்ந்து முடியுமண மெட்டனுள் எதையும், புணர்ச்சிபெறாத தும் பெறுதலொண்ணாததுமான கைக்கிளை யாக்குவது, தமிழ் மரபுக்கும் தொல்காப் பிய இலக்கணத்திற்கும் முற்று முரணாகும். கூட்டம்பெறாத வரையே கைக்கிளையாம். கூட்ட மெதுவாயினும், அது ஒன்று அன்பிற் கூட்டமான களவு, அல்லது பெருந் திணையாவதன்றிக் கைக்கிளையாகக் கொள்ளுமாறில்லை. ஆகவே, அவ்வாறு கோடல் ஆசிரியர் கருத்தாகாது.

(4) இன்னும், முதல்மூன்று ஈற்று நான்கு என்னுமல் சூத்திரத்தில் வாளா "முன்னைய மூன்று பின்னர் நான்கு" எனவே கூறப்படுவதனால், மூன்றும் நான் கும் ஏழேயாக, எட்டெண்ணுடைய வடநூல் கூறுங்கூட்டங்களை இங்குச்சுட்டித்தீர வேண்டிய நியதியில்லை. இவை யெட்டும் மணமெனக் கருதுதற்குரியவுமல்ல. சிலவே குற்றமற்ற மணமும், வேறு சில வெறுக்கத்தக்க பாவக்கூட்டமுமாகும். வட நூல்களும், இவ்வெட்டினையும் கொள்ளற்குரிய வதுவை முறைகளாகக்கூறவுமில்லை; மக்களுள் நிகழக்கூடிய கூட்டங்களாக மட்டும் சுட்டுகின்றன. எனவே, சூத்திரத்திற் கவசியமான ஏழெண் கொள்ளும் எழுபிறப்பு, எழுதீவு, எழுலகமாதியவற்றுள் ஒன்

றைக்கூறி இச்சூத்திரத்தொகை எண்ணே யமைத்தல் கூறுவதாகவும், இவற்றையெல்லாம் விலக்கித் தமிழ் மரபாகாத ஆரியநூலிற் காணப்பெறும் எட்டுவகைக்கூட்டங்களே, ஆசிரியர் எனைத்தானும் அக்கருத்தைக் குறியாதிருக்க, இத்தமிழிலக்கணச் சூத்திரம் நுதலிய பொருளாக இங்குக்கொள்ள நியாயமும் அவசியமுமில்லை.

(5) இனிப் பழைய உரைகாரர் கொள்கைப்படி இச்சூத்திரம் இவ்வெட்டு மணத்தைக் குறிப்பதாகக் கொண்டாலும், வரிசைமுறையில் இவ்வெட்டில் முதலிலிருந்து முறையே மூன்றும் நான்குமாக எழுபோக இறுதிநின்ற பைசாசம் எண்ணப்படாமலும், நடுநின்ற கந்தருவம் பெருந்திணே கொள்ளும் பின்னுன்கனேடு சேர்த்தெண்ணப் பட்டும் வரும். இது அசங்கதமாகமுடியும். இதை விலக்க வேண்டி, முன்னேய மூன்று என்பதை முதலிலிருந்து எண்ணுவதைவிட்டுக் கந்தருவத்தை விலக்கெல்லையாக வைத்து, அதன் பின்னுள்ள மூன்றை முதலில் மூன்றெனவும், கந்தருவத்துக்கு முன்னிற்கும் நான்கையும் பின்னர் நான்கெனவும் உரைகாரர் இயல்முறை பிறழக்கூறநேர்ந்தது.

(6) இப்பொருந்தா உரை கோடலால் வரும் அசங்கதம் இன்னும் ஒன்றுளது. குற்ற மற்ற பிரமமுதலிய முதல் நான்கையும் குற்றம் நிறைந்த பொருந்தாத இழிந்தகாமமான பெருந்திணேயாகவும், வெறுக்கவேண்டிய பாவக்கூட்டமான பைசாசம் ஆசுரம் இராக்கதங்களேப் புரைதீர்காமமான தூயவுணர்ச்சியை நிலைக்களனுகக்கொண்டு நிற்கும் கைக்கிளேயாகவும் கூறுதல் விபரீதமன்ருே? தொல்காப்பியர் செந்திறக் கைக்கிளே-உயர்ந்தோர் மேற்கொள்ளுந் தவறற்ற நல்ல காமமெனவும், 'நோந்திறப் பெருந்திணே' இழிந்தோர்பாற்படும் தவருன பொருந்தாக் காமமெனவும், அகத்திணே 53-54 ஆவது சூத்திரங்களால் தெற்றென விளக்கிப் போந்திருக்கவும், அவர் கூற்றுக்கு மாருகப் பாவக்கைக்கிளேயும் புனிதப்பெருந்திணேயும் உள்ளனபோலக் கொள்ளுதல் இழுக்காகும். சிந்திப்பார்க்கு வடநூல் கூறும் எட்டுக்கூட்டமல்லாத ஆசிரியர் தாமே தம் தமிழிலக்கண நூலில் தமிழ்மரபாக விளக்கியன வேருதல் வேண்டுமென விளங்கும். அவை யாவையெனத்தெளிதற்கு அடுத்த சூத்திரத்தையும் சிறிது கவனித்தல்வேண்டும்.

இனி, அடுத்த 15ஆவது சூத்திரம், "முதலொடு புணர்ந்த யாழோர் மேன, தவலருஞ்சிறப்பின் ஐந்நிலம்பெறுமே." என்பது. இதற்கு இளம்பூரணர், "கருப்பொருளொடு புணர்ந்த கந்தருவநெறி களவும் உடன்போக்கும் இற்கிழத்தி காமக்கிழத்தி காதற்பரத்தையும் எனச்சொல்லப்பட்ட ஐவகைக்கூட்டம்" எனப்பொருள் கூறினர்.

(1) உடன்போக்கு களவினெரு பகுதியேயாகலானும், இருகிழத்தியர் பரத்தையர் கூட்டமெல்லாம் கற்புக்கைகோளிலடங்கிய சிலவுட்பிரிவுகளே யாகலானும், இவற்றைக் களவுக்கூட்டம் கற்புக்கூட்டம் என்பவற்ருேடு ஒத்த தனிவேறு கூட்டங்கள்போலப் பிரித்தெண்ணுதல் பொருந்தாது. இவ்வாறு உட்பிரிவுகளே யெல்லாம்

எண்ணில், இயற்கை, இடந்தலைப்பாடு, பாங்கன் பாங்கிகளாலாவன, பகற்குறி, இரவுக்குறியாதிக்கூட்டங்களை யெல்லாம் கூட்டியெண்ணல் வேண்டும். இவை பலவற்றை விலக்கிக் கூட்டமின்றிக் கூட்டநிமித்தமேயான உடன்போக்கைக் கள வொடொப்பத் தனிவேறு பிரித்தெண்ணக் காரணமில்லை.

(2) களவெனவே, அதனுட் பிரிவுகளெல்லாம் அடங்கும். உட்பிரிவுகள் அனைத்தையும் பிரித்து விலக்கியபின் களவென வொருதனி வேறு கூட்டங் கருது தற்குமில்லை.

(3) கற்பியல்பின் வேறாக விதந்து பிரித்து அக்கைகோளி னிலக்கணமெல் லாம் ஆண்டு விளக்கும் ஆசிரியர், இக்களவியல் முற்பகுதியில் களவுக்கேயுரிய நால் வகைப் புணர்வும், அவற்றின் நிமித்தங்களும், அவை களனாகத் தலைவன் கூற்று நிகழுமாறுங் கூறுமிவ்விடத்துக் கற்புக்கூட்டப் பாகுபாடு சிலவற்றை யிழுத்துப் பேசலானாரென, அக்குறிப்பை ஆசிரியர் சுட்டாதபோது, நாமவ்வாறு உரையிற் கொள்ள நியாயமில்லை.

(4) “முதலொடு புணர்ந்த” என ஆசிரியர் தெளிசொற் கூறவும், அது குறிக்கும் நிலம் பொழுதெனும் இருமுதற் பொருள்களை விலக்கி, இங்குக் “கருப் பொருளொடு புணர்ந்த” என மாறுகூறுவதும் ஆசிரியர் கருத்திற்கிணங்குவதன்று.

(5) இதில் “யாழோர்மேன ....ஐந்நிலம் பெறும்” எனுந் தெளிசொற் களால் ஆசிரியர் களவுக்கைகோளுக்குரிய அன்பினைந்திணைகளையே கருதினரென் பதுதெளிவு. இவ்வாறு கொண்டால் தாம் கூறக்கருதிய பொருளொடு பொருந்தா தெனக்கண்டு, ஈண்டு ஐந்துங் கூட்டமேயாக அமைக்கவிரும்பி உரையாசிரியர் இடர்ப்படுகின்றார். ஐந்திணையாம் உரிப்பொருள்களில், குறிஞ்சித்திணையே கூட்ட மாக, பிறதிணைகள் களவின்பத்தைச் சிறப்பிக்குங் கூட்டத்துணைத்திணைகளே யாத லால், அவையனைத்தும் ஐந்துகூட்டமெனக் கூறற்கில்லை. ஆனால், இதிலும் இதன் முன்னவையான இருசூத்திரங்களிலு மெண்ணப்பட்ட ஐந்தும் ஏழுமாகிய பன்னி ரண்டும் பாங்கரைவேண்டுங் கூட்டமேயாகுமெனத் தாம்துணிந்தபடியால், ஆசிரியர் இச்சூத்திரங்களில் முன்விளக்கிய ஐந்திணையிலக்கணத்தையும் தெளிவான சொற் களையுங் கருதாமல், தாம் கூட்டங்களாக ஐந்தினைக்கூற நினைந்து களவுகற்பு இவற் றினுட்பிரிவுகளில் தமக்குத் தோன்றிய சிலவுமாகச் சேர்த்து, ஐந்து கூட்டம் இச் சூத்திரம் நுதலியதாகவும், முன்சூத்திரம் ஆரியமணமெட்டில் இடைக்கந்தருவ மொழிய மற்றைய ஏழுகூட்டங்களையே நுதலியதாகவும் கூறிவைத்தார். இதில் உடன்போக்கு கூட்டச்சார்பன்றிக் கூட்டமாகாமையும், பாங்கியன்றிப் பாங்கனி மித்தமாகாமையும், பைசாச முதலியவற்றிற்கு இருவகைப் பாங்கரும் வேண்டப் படாமையும், எண்வகைக் கூட்டம் தமிழ் மரபில்லாமையும், அவற்றையும் பின் வேறு பகுதியாக இலக்கணங் கூறுங் கற்புப்பகுதிகளையும் இங்குக் களவுப்புணர்ச்சி அதற் குரிய பாங்கர் நிமித்தம் தலைவன் கூற்றுக்களுக்கு இலக்கணங் கூறுமிடத்து வலிந்து இழுத்து இணைப்பதின் அமைவின்மையும், “முதலொடு” என்பதற்குக் கருப்பொரு

ளொடு என்பதன் பொருந்தாமையும், இன்ன பலபிற இயைபின்மைகளும் ஈண்டு உரையாசிரியர் கருதினாரில்லை.

இனி, இவ்வாறே இச்சூத்திரத்துக்கு நச்சினார்க்கினியரும் பொருந்தாப்பொருள் கூறிப்போந்தார். இனி "யாழோர் மேன......ஐந்நிலம் பெறுமே" யெனுமிச் சூத்திரம் சுட்டும் ஐந்நிலமாவன யாவை? பாலையுட்பட "வையம் பாத்திய" ஐந்நிலமென உரைகாரரிருவருங் கொள்ளற்கில்லை. அவர்கள் முன்னைய சூத்திரங்களோடு இதனைச் சேர்த்து இவற்றில் வரும் மூன்றும் நாலும் ஐந்துமான பன்னிரண்டுங் கூட்டமேயெனக் கொண்டதனால், அப்பன்னிரு கூட்டத்திற்கும் பன்னிருநிலங்கூறல் கூடாமையானும், தாம் கொண்ட கூட்டம் பன்னிரண்டுக்கும் ஒப்ப அமைவதானதோர் பொருளே ஈண்டு நிலத்திற்குக் கொள்ளவேண்டுதலானும், நடுவணைந்திணையான களவுக்கே வையம்பாத்திய ஐவகை நிலத்தையும் ஆக்கிவிடில் பிறகூட்டம் ஏழும்பெறுநிலமில்லையாகலானும், பாலைக்கு நிலமின்றிப் பிறநான்கு திணைகளுக்கே யுரியவாக வையத்தை நானிலமெனவே ஆசிரியர் கூறினாராகவே அதற்கு மாறாக அவ்வாசிரியரின் இச்சூத்திரத்துக்கு ஐந்து நிலப்பகுதி கூறக் கூடாமையானும், ஈருரைகாரரும் ஈண்டு ஐந்நிலம் என்பதற்கு நிலப்பகுதி யென்னாது இதில் ஐந்தும் முன்னைய சூத்திரத்திலேழுமான பன்னிரண்டுக்கும் அமையவேண்டி வேறுபொருள் காண முயல்வாரானார்.

இளம்பூரணர் "ஐந்நிலம் பெறும்" என்பதற்குக் கந்தருவம் ஐந்துவகைப்படும் என்று கூறி, அவை களவு உடன்போக்கு கிழத்தியரிருவர் பரத்தையர் கூட்டம் ஆகக்கூட்டம் ஐந்துமாமென்பர். நச்சினார்க்கினியர், ஐந்நிலம் இவையென விளங்கக்கூறாமல் வாளா "ஐவகை நிலனும் பெறுதலின்" எனக்கூறிவிட்டு "ஈண்டு யாழோர் மேன" என்பதை அன்பினைந்திணைக்களவான கந்தருவமல்லாததும், ஆனால் அக்களவையே முதலாகக் கொண்டுவருவதுமான பிறிதொரு இரண்டாங் கந்தருவமாகும் என்று ஒரு புத்துரை புனைந்தார். இஃது இவர் அறிவு வளத்தின் அருமை காட்டுவதாகுமன்றி ஆசிரியர் கருத்தை விளக்குவதாயில்லை. "அன்பொடு புணர்ந்த ஐந்திணை மருங்கிற் காமக்கூட்ட மாந்" தமிழ்க்களவு "மறையோர்தேஎத்து மன்றலெட்டனுள் துறையமை நல்லியாழ்த்துணைமை யோரியல்" பாகும் ஆரியக்கந்தருவத்தன்மையாம் என்று களவியல் முதற்சூத்திரத்தில் தெற்றெனத் தெளித்த தொல்காப்பியர், பிறிதியாண்டும் இதனின்வேறாயதோர் கந்தருவமும் தமிழ்நூலார்க்குடன்பாடாவதுளதெனக் குறித்தாரிலர். ஆகவே ஈண்டு நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கூறும் புத்துரை ஆசிரியர் கருத்தன்றென்பது விளக்கம். அன்றியும், நச்சினார்க்கினியரின் இவ்விரண்டாங் கந்தருவம் தமிழிலக்கணம் அறியும் களவு கற்பு எனும் இருகைகோளினும் அடங்காதாகவே, தமிழிலக்கண நூலில் அதற்கிடனுமில்லை.

இனி, நச்சினார்க்கினியர், களவினை முதற்கந்தருவமென வேறு பிரித்து, அது நூல்களிற் புலவர் புனைந்துரைத்த கற்பனையளவே யமைவதெனவும், உலகியலில் நடைபெறுவது தாங்கூறும் இரண்டாங்கந்தருவமே யாகுமெனவும், களவியல்

13, 14, 15-ஆம் சூத்திரங்களுக்குத் தாம்கண்ட வுரையில் வலியுறுத்தித் தமது இக்
கருத்தையே பின் சிந்தாமணி நாமகளிலம்பகம் 158 ஆவது செய்யுளுரையிலும் அநு
வதிக்கின்றார். ஆசிரியரோ தம் தமிழிலக்கணநூலில் தாம் கூறும் அகப்பொருளனைத்
தும் நாடகவழக்கும் உலகியல் வழக்கும் புலவரின் புலநெறி வழக்குமாவனவற்றுள்
எதனையும் விலக்காது எல்லாத் தமிழ் மரபுகளையும் வடித்துத் திரட்டிக் கூறிப்போ
வதாக விதந்து விளக்கி வைத்தார். (அகம். சூத்திரம்-53). ஆகையால் ஆசிரியரின்
தெளித்த கூற்றுக் கொவ்வாத நச்சினார்க்கினியருரை ஆசிரியரின் சூத்திரக் கருத்
தாகாமை தெளியப்படும். எனைத்தாயினும் இச்சூத்திரம் சுட்டும் ஐந்நிலம் குறிஞ்சி
முதலிய நிலப்பகுதிகளைக் குறியாதென்பது ஒருதலை.

இனி, ஈண்டு ஐந்நிலம் களவின்பாற்படும் ஐந்திணையு மாகாவென ஈருரை
காரருந் துணிந்தது சரியே. முதலில் பாங்கர் நிமித்தம் பன்னிரண்டெனத் தொகு
த்துப்பின் அவையாவன முன்னைய மூன்று பின்னர் நான்கு, யாழோர்மேன, ஐந்து
எனவகுத்து ஆசிரியர் முறையே யீங்கு இச்சூத்திரங்களிற் சுட்டிப்போவதனால்
அவர் கூறும் இப்பன்னிரண்டும் ஒரேதன்மையனவாதல் வேண்டும் என்பது தெளி
யக் கிடக்கின்றது. ஆகவே, அகத்திணை யேழேயாதலால், அவற்றுள் ஐந்திணை யிங்
குப் பன்னிரண்டு நிமித்தங்களில் ஐந்தெனக்கூறின், மற்றையநிமித்தம் எழனுக்கும்
ஒப்பப்பொருளமையாது. இங்கு ஆசிரியர் கூறும் பன்னிரண்டனுக்கும் ஒத்து
அமையும் பொருள் காண்பதே முறையாகும். அதனை யினி யாராய்வாம்.

தாம் இங்கு இச்சூத்திரங்களால் வகுத்துக் கூறுவன பாங்கர் நிமித்தம் பன்
னிரண்டென்பதை ஆசிரியர் இதற்குமுன் தொகுத்துக்கூறிய களவியல் 13 ஆவது
சூத்திரம் யாப்புறுத்துளது. அப்பன்னிரண்டும் களவில் தலைவன் கூற்று நிகழ்தற்கே
துவாகும் பலவற்றுள் பாங்கன்பாங்கிகளின்பாற் படுவனவேயாகும். அப்பாங்கர்
நிமித்தம் பன்னிரண்டும், முன்மெய்தொட்டுப் பயிறல் முதலிய பலநிமித்தங்களும்
தொகுத்துக்கூறும் 11 ஆம் சூத்திரத்தில் விளக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. இதனை, 13 ஆம் சூத்
திரக்கருத்தைமேலே நாம் ஆராய்ந்தபோது கண்டு தெளிந்தோம். அப்பன்னிரண்டும்
அன்பினைந்திணைக் களவுக்காமேனும், அவற்றுள் முதல் மூன்று கைக்கிளைக்கும், பின்
இறுதிநான்கு பெருந்திணைக்கும் வரற்பால. நடுவணைந்து நிமித்தங்களும் இவ்விரு
திணைக்கும் வாராது, நடுவணைந்திணைக் காமக்கூட்டத்துக்கு மட்டுமே பொருந்துவன
வாம். இதனையே ஆசிரியர் இங்கு இச்சூத்திரங்களால் விளங்கவைத்தார்.

இதனால் களவியல் பதினைந்தாவது சூத்திரத்தில் ஐந்நில மேன்பது,
முன் பதினோராவது சூத்திரத்தில் தலைவன் கூற்று நிகழுங் களம்பல கூறியவற்
றுள் முதலெட்டு நீக்கிப் பின்கூறிய பாங்கர் நிமித்தமான பன்னிரண்டனுள் முதல்
மூன்றும் இறுதிநான்கும் நீக்கி, இடை நின்ற ஐந்துகளனுமே யாகுமேன்பது
தேளிவாகும். எனவே, இதற்கு முன்னைய பதினான்காம் சூத்திரம் கூறும் ஏழும்,
ஆசிரியர் முன் பதினொன்றாம் சூத்திரத்துள் விளக்கிய பாங்கர் நிமித்தம் பன்னி

ரண்டில் முதல் மூன்றும் இறுதி நான்கும் ஆக ஏழு களன்களாகும். இவ்வாறு இவையமைவதனை யினியிங்குச் சிறிது ஆராய்வாம்.

மேலே களவியற் பதின்மூன்றாஞ் சூத்திரப்பொருளை ஆராயுங்கால், அதிற் கூறப்படும் பாங்கர் நிமித்தம் பன்னிரண்டும், அதற்கு முன்னைய "மெய்தொட்டுப் பயிறல்" என்னும் பதினொன்றாஞ் சூத்திரத்துக் கூறப்படும் "பெற்றவழி மகிழ்ச்சி" முதல் "மடன்மாகூறு மிடனுமாருண்டே" என்பது வரை சொல்லப்படும் பன்னிரண்டேயாமெனக் கண்டுவைத்தோம். தலைவன் கூற்று நிகழ்தற்காம் நிமித்தம் இப் பன்னிரண்டனுள், முதல் நான்கு பாங்கன் கூட்டம், இறுதியெட்டும் பாங்கியிற் கூட்டமாவனவாம்.

அப்பன்னிரண்டு நிமித்தம் வருமாறு :—

1. பெற்றவழி மகிழ்ச்சி
2. பிரிந்தவழிக் கலங்கல்
3. நிற்பவை நினைஇ நிகழ்பவை யுரைத்தல்
4. குற்றங்காட்டிய வாயில்பெட்பு
5. பெட்டவாயில்பெற்று இரவு வலியுறுப்பு.
6. ஊரும் பேருங் கெடுதியும் பிறவும்
நீரிற் குறிப்பினிரம்பக் கூறித்
தோழியைக் குறையுறும் பகுதி
7. தோழி, குறையவட்சார்த்தி மெய்யுறக்கூறல்
8. தண்டாதிரப்பு
9. மற்றையவழி
10. சொல்லவட் சார்த்தலிற்புல்லியவகை
11. அறிந்தோளயர்ப்பின் அவ்வழி மருங்கிற் கேடும் பீடுங்கூறல்
12. தோழி, நீக்கலினாகிய நிலைமை நோக்கி மடன்மாகூறல்.

இப்பன்னிரண்டே களவுக்கூட்டத்தில் தலைவன் கூற்றுக்கிடனாகும் பாங்கர் நிமித்தங்களாம். இவை தம்முள் முன்னின்ற

1. பெற்றவழி மகிழ்தல்
2. பிரிந்தவழிக் கலங்கல்
3. நிற்பவை நினைஇ நிகழ்பவை யுரைத்தல்.

என்பவை மூன்றும், அன்பொடு புணர்ந்த ஐந்திணை மருங்கில் காமக்கூட்டமாம் களவுநிமித்தமாவதுடன், அகப்புறமாகிய தூயசெந்திறக் கைக்கிளைத்திணைக்குமுரியனவாகத் தக்க குறி அல்லது நிமித்தங்களாயும் அமைவனவாம். இப்பன்னி

ரண்டனுள் பின்னிறுதி நின்ற இரந்து பின்னிற்றலே மாறுமிடத்துத் தலைவன் பால் நிகழும் வேறுணர்ச்சியைச் சுட்டும் "மற்றையவழி" முதல் "மடன்மாகூறல்" இறுதியான நான்கும் தூயகாமக் கூட்டத்திற்கே யன்றிப் பொருந்தா இழிந்த காம மான நோந்திறப் பெருந்திணைக்கும் அடையாளம் அல்லது நிமித்தமாகவும் அமை வுறுவனவாம். இவ்வாறு முன் 3, பின் 4, ஆக இவை 7 ம் போக, நடுவணின்ற 4 ஆவதான "குற்றங்காட்டிய வாயில் பெட்பு" முதல் 8 ஆவதான "தண்டாதிரப்பு" ஈருகக்கூறப்பெற்ற ஐந்தும் கைக்கிளை பெருந்திணைகளுக்கு எவ்வாற்ருனும் யாண்டும் பொருந்தாதனவாய் அன்பொடு புணர்ந்த நடுவணைந்திணைக் காமக்கூட்டமாங் கந்தருவத்திற்கே யுரிய நிமித்தங்களாகும். இதுவே தமிழ் மரபு. இவ்வுண்மை யையே ஆசிரியர் இங்குத் தமிழ்க் களவிலக்கணங் கூறும் களவியலில் 11 முதல் 15 ஆவது வரையுள்ள சூத்திரங்களால் தெளிசொற் பெய்து விளக்கிப்போந்தார். இவ்வுண்மையை மறந்து நெகிழவிட்டு, வடநூலிற் காணப்படும் தமிழ் மரபாகாத கூட்டம் எட்டினை இவை குறிப்பதாகக் கொண்டதனுல், உரைகாரர் இச்சூத்திரங் களுக்குச்செம்பொருள் கூறமாட்டாது மயங்கக் கூறலாயினர்.

Jagannātha Paṇḍita

By

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(*Continued from Page 158, Vol. IV, No. 1.*)

(3) AS A LITERARY CRITIC (*Continued*)

ABHIDHĀ THE PRIMARY SIGNIFICATIVE POTENCY

After the elucidation of the *Dhvanis,* Jagannātha takes up for discussion the two *Śabdavṛttis—abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā*—on which dhvani (vyañjanāvṛtti) is based. He defines abhidhā as the *particular relation called śakti that subsists between word and its sense.* Some of the Mīmāṁsakas and Vaiyākaraṇas consider it as a separate category. The Naiyāyikas however assert that it is the will of God that such and such a word should convey such and such an idea[1]. Others favour the former view on the ground that there is no *vinigamaka*—special reason —to choose between the two alternatives—the will of God and the knowledge of God.

THE THREE-FOLD DIVISION OF ABHIDHĀ

The abhidhā is divided into three—*kevalasamudāyaśakti* (potency based on the word as a whole), *kevalāvayavaśakti* (potency based on the derivation) and *samudāyāvayavaśaktisaṅkara* (a combination of the two). The first is illustrated in words like *ḍittha* having no derivative sense except the person meant by the term as a whole. The second is illustrated in words like *pācaka* (a cook), where its derivative sense is fully taken into account, and not its conventional meaning. The third is illustrated in the word *paṅkaja* (a lotus flower) where there is a combination of both—the derivative sense and the conventional mean-

1. ‘अस्मात्पदादयमर्थो बोद्धव्य इतीश्वरसङ्केतः शक्तिः’
Though the Will of God is one, yet it possesses as objects (viṣayas) words as related to only their respective ideas to be conveyed by them, so that there is no room for the objection that the word ‘go’ may convey the idea ‘horse’ and *vice versa.*

ing. These three are popularly known by the terms *rūḍhi, yoga* and *yogarūḍhi.*

In the words like *aśvagandhā, aśvakarṇa, maṇḍapa, niśānta, kuvalaya,* Jagannātha says, different opinions have prevailed. Some say that the word *aśvagandhā* by its *rūḍhiśakti* means a *particular plant,* but it means a *stable* by its *yogaśakti ;* so the word is sometimes *yaugika* and sometimes, *rūḍha,* and is not *yogarūḍha,* since in no case *does it convey* the combined idea, like the word paṅkaja. Others opine that words like *aśvagandhā* are *neither yaugika nor rūḍha* but are *yogarūḍha* which, however, admits of two divisions—*yogarūḍha* and *yaugikarūḍha.* The word *paṅkaja* is the example of the *yogarūḍha* and words like *aśvagandhā* are illustrations for the *yaugikarūḍha,* where the two senses—yoga and rūḍhi—are not combined in one instance. The Naiyāyikas admit the *yaugikarūḍha* as a *fourth* variety of śaktapada. Others, probably the metaphysicians among the grammarians, hold that there is only one variety of the śaktapada, viz., rūḍha, and the division of a pada into prakṛti and pratyaya and that of samāsa into padas is only conventional and as such, untrue.

YOGARŪḌHA WORDS SOMETIMES PURE YAUGIKAS BY LAKṢANĀ

It is true that in instances like

"गीष्पतिरप्यांगिरसो गदितुं ते गुणगणान्सगर्वो न ।
इन्द्रः सहस्रनयनोऽप्यद्भुतरूपं परिच्छेत्तुम् ॥"

the words 'गीष्पतिः' and 'सहस्रनयनः' convey as *yogarūḍha śabdas* the double meaning, so that the words आंगिरसः and इन्द्रः are superfluous ; but it is accepted that the *yogarūḍha* words in such instances do not convey the *double sense* by abhidhā but *convey only the derivative sense by lakṣaṇā,* and the other word conveys the *rūḍhi sense,* with the result that in such instances there is left much scope for the *suggestion* of some novel and beautiful idea as would be conducive to the pleasure of the readers. If one uses the word—*paṅkajākṣī* (lotus-eyed one)—for example, to address a person whose eyes do not at all resemble the lotus-petals, it conveys only the rūḍhi sense, viz., the person addressed to, and the derivative idea is not taken into account since the addresser has no such intention. But if another word is used to convey the derivative sense as in the example— इन्द्रः सहस्रनयनः— the yogarūḍha word conveys the derivative sense and the other, the rūḍhi sense, which help the suggestion of many ideas as the context would be. So there is no question of superfluity of one word in the instances like 'इन्द्रः सहस्रनयनः'

THE FOUR-FOLD DIVISION OF THE ABHIDHEYĀRTHA

The sense conveyed by a word through its *abhidhāśakti* is of *four* kinds—*jāti* (generality), *guṇa* (quality), *kriyā* (action) and *yādṛcchika* (accidental).

(1) The generality *gotva* (cowness) which is manifested by the physical structure of the cow is the idea conveyed by the *gośabda* through abhidhā. Here Jagannātha follows the *jātiśaktivāda* of the Mīmāṁsakas and not the *viśiṣṭaśaktivāda* of the Naiyāyikas. How one derives the knowledge of the individual from the cognition of the word 'gauḥ' is explained in two ways: (a) The *gośabda* in the sentence —gāmānaya—conveys the individual through lakṣaṇā, the secondary significative potency, which is applied on the *incompatibility of the abhidheyārtha—gotvajāti*—as related to the *ānayanakriyā*. (b) It is accepted that the cognition of the abhidhā of a word which has the generality only as its object, generates the recollection and the verbal cognition possessing the *generality* and its *substratum—individual*—as their objects. So runs the Vākyapadīya—'The cow is not a cow by its form, nor is it a non-cow; but it is (called) *cow* because of its relation to the *gotva* (cowness).' This explains well that the usage *gauḥ* is based not on the individual which possesses certain peculiar physical features, but on the generality—*gotva;* so also is the usage *agauḥ* (non-cow).

(2) The quality like white colour is the primary sense conveyed by the word *Śukla*. This *Śukla guṇa* in all white objects is one and the same and this oneness of the white colour helps one to extend one's *śaktigraha* to other white substances which one has not experienced during the time of one's first śaktigraha.

(3) The action like motion (from one place to another) is the primary sense known from the word *cala*. Here also it is accepted that on the ground of *lāghava*, the action viz. *calana* is one and the same belonging to different moving objects.

(4) A particular property, the *pravṛttinimitta* (the sole condition of the use of a word), is the primary sense of the word *ḍittha*—a *yādṛcchika* śabda. About the nature of this property different views were spoken of: (1) One view is that it is nothing but the *sphoṭa* manifested by the last varṇa (of the word) which is found in the individual (meant by the word), through a circumlocutory relation. (2) Another is that it is the group of varṇas possessing a sequence (which is also to be explained as existing in the individual, through a circumlocutory relation). (3) Yet other is that it is the individual itself (beside whom

nothing is known as the meaning of the word—*ḍittha*). In the first two views, the cognition arising from that of the yadṛcchā śabda is a *determinate cognition* (*viśiṣṭajñāna*) where the *viśiṣṭa* is cognised on the basis of that of the *viśeṣaṇa* (adjunct). In the last one, it is an *indeterminate cognition* (*nirvikalpaka jñāna*) of the very person—Ḍittha. Thus the fourfold use of śabdas in different senses (through abhidhā) is explained, which is generally followed by all schools of thought. Jagannātha explains another view that all śabdas can be grouped under one head—*jāti,* which is conveyed by all kinds of words alike. The words conveying quality and action denote only those generalities resting on them, and the yadṛcchā śabdas also do convey some generalities resting on those persons (meant by them) who are considered to be different by difference of time.

LAKṢAṆĀ—ITS DEFINITION AND CONDITIONS

Lakṣaṇā is defined as *the relation to the primary sense of a word.* It is generally adopted on the basis of the *unintelligibility* (*anupapatti*) of the primary sense of a word in the context. For example, in the instance—*Gaṅgāyām ghoṣaḥ,* the word *Gaṅgā* primarily means the *current,* which is incompatible in the context in that the *ghoṣa* (hamlet) cannot exist on the current; so the primary idea is set aside and the secondary sense—*bank* (being related to the *current* by its *proximity—sāmīpya*) is conveyed by the word *Gaṅgā.*

It cannot be, however, accepted that the incompatibility of the primary sense in the context is the sole condition of lakṣaṇā. In the example, 'Kākebhyo dadhi rakṣyatām' (curd is to be protected from the crows), there is no *vācyārthānupapatti ;* but according to the intention of the speaker, Lakṣaṇā is to be adopted in the word '*kāka*' in the sense of 'all those which cause harm to the curd' (dadhyupaghātakas). So the *incompatibility of the intention or the intended idea of the speaker* (*tātparyānupapatti*) is to be considered as the primary condition for the adoption of lakṣaṇā. It is also held that the secondary sense of a word becomes the object of the intended śābdabodha with the delimiting adjunct of the *mukhyārthatā* (the state of being the primary sense), so much so that the delimiting adjunct of the mukhyārthatā (mukhyārthatāvacchedaka) does not become the delimiting adjunct of the tātparyaviṣayānvayitā (the state being the related (object) of the intention or the intended sense). To illustrate in the famous example, the verbal cognition 'the hamlet on the bank' possesses *gaṅgātva* (Gangesness) as the delimiting adjunct of the lakṣyārthatā (the state of being the secondary sense). Not only that, the *relation* (*anvaya*) which becomes the object of the intended śābdabodha should not be

reciprocated (nirūpakatvābhāvaḥ) by the correlativeness (*pratiyogitā*) of the primary sense with the delimiting adjunct of the mukhyārthatā. In brief, in the example 'Gaṅgāyām ghoṣaḥ', the *current* is not to be known *as current* but the *bank* is to be cognised as current (i.e.) with currentness (*gaṅgātva*) with the result that the hamlet resting on the bank of the Ganges is known as associated with the properties of the current of the Ganges, viz., coolness, sanctity, etc.

The relation between the primary sense and secondary sense is varied; in the instance—'the hamlet on the Ganges'—it is *proximity* (of the current of the Ganges to its bank); in the 'face-moon' (moon-like face), it is *similarity;* in the word 'darśa' it is *virodha*—antithesis (i.e.) the word *darśa* by the derivation—दृश्यते चन्द्रमा: अस्मिन्—has to mean through abhidhā the full-moon day, but it now means the new-moon day, which is to be explained only through *viparītalakṣaṇā;* in the example 'Life is ghee— आयुर्घृतम्' the relation is *causality.* In this way many other relations also can be explained in the secondary usage.[2]

DIVISION OF LAKṢAṆĀ

The lakṣaṇā is divided into two—*nirūḍhā* and *Prayojanavatī.* (1) *Nirūḍhā.* The nirūḍhā is generally based on the time-honoured usage without any reference to its derivative sense. The words—*anukūla, pratikūla, anuloma, pratiloma, lāvaṇya,* etc., are the best examples for this variety. Jagannātha explains that since there is the unintelligibility of the primary sense of the word अनुकूल (like कूलानुगत—that which is suitable to the bank) in the instance— अयं अनुकूल:—it conveys through the relation of similarity the idea of 'अनुगुण:—suitable or favourable.' So the words like *nīla* which convey through abhidhā *nīlatva*—the generality of the nīlaguṇa, indicate (through lakṣaṇā) the *nīlaguṇa* (the black quality) or the *nīladravya* (the black substance, as the case might be). Some hold that the nirūḍhā has got two varieties—*śuddhā* (pure) and *gauṇī* (qualitative).

(2) *Prayojanavatī.* The *prayojanavatī* is of two kinds—*gauṇī* (qualitative) and *śuddhā* (pure). The *gauṇī* is of two kinds—*sāropā*

2. Compare Ācārya Bhartṛmitra's Kārikā—
'अभिधेयेन सारूप्यात्सामीप्यात्समवायतः ।
वैपरीत्यात्क्रियायोगाल्लक्षणा पञ्चधा मता ॥

(super-imponent) and *sādhyavasānā* (intro-susceptive) both having 'super-imposition' as its basis. The *śuddhā* is divided into—(1) *jahatsvārthā*[3] and (2) *ajahatsvārthā*.[4] Thus six main varieties of lakṣaṇā can be described (as the following table shows):—

- Lakṣaṇā
  - nirūḍhā
    - (1) gauṇī
    - (2) śuddhā
  - prayojanavatī
    - gauṇī
      - (3) sāropā
      - (4) sādhyavasānā
    - śuddhā
      - (5) jahatsvārthā
      - (6) ajahatsvārthā

The difference between sāropa lakṣaṇā and sādhyavasāna lakṣaṇā is explained that in the former the two objects—compared and comparable—are separately mentioned and their identity is spoken of, while in the latter their identity is described even without their separate mention.

GAUNĪ: (1) SĀROPĀ (SUPER-IMPONENT)

The first is illustrated by 'मुखं' चन्द्रः—the face (is) moon.' Here the word *candra* conveys through lakṣaṇā the sense *candra-sadṛśa*—'similar to moon', which is related to 'face' by the tie of *abheda* (identity), so much so that the verbal cognition arising from the statement 'face (is) moon' has got 'face' as its *viśeṣya* (chief object of cognition), 'similar to moon' as its *prakāra* (adjunct) and 'identity' as the relation of the two ideas—*viśeṣya* and *prakāra*. The śābdabodha (the final verbal cognition) runs thus— 'मुखं चन्द्रसदृशाभिन्नम् —the face is identical

3. Jahatsvārthā is illustrated by the example— गङ्गायां घोषः, where the primary sense (svārtha) of the word गङ्गा is abandoned and the new idea 'bank' is conveyed by the word.

4. Ajahatsvārthā is generally illustrated by काकेभ्यो दधि रक्ष्यताम्, यष्टी प्रवेशयं where the primary sense is not abandoned but is merged into the body of the secondary sense.

with the (object) similar to the moon'. This explanation is based on a generally accepted maxim in śābdabodha—नामार्थयोरभेदः संसर्गः—abheda (identity) is the relation between two senses conveyed by substantives (expressing one and the same sense through different media).

Now a question is raised in the example 'मुखं चन्द्रः' If the word '*mukha*' by *sāropa lakṣaṇā* conveys the idea '*mukhasadṛśa*,' where is the difference between the two figures of speech—*Upamā* (simile) and *Rūpaka* (metaphor)? It is accepted generally that 'मुखं चन्द्रः' is an illustration for metaphor, while ' चन्द्रसदृशं मुखं ;, is that for simile. It cannot be argued that the difference between these two lies in the fact that in the former the relation viz. *pratiyogitva* between *candra* and *sadṛśa* (both parts of the secondary sense of the word 'candra'—*candra-pratiyogika-sādṛśyavat*) is known as the *śabdārtha*, while in the latter, the relation viz. *abheda* between *candrasadṛśa* and *mukha* is known through *saṁsargamaryādā*—the juxtaposition of the two words. For, this difference cannot be taken as the criterion to distinguish one figure of speech from another. Otherwise we will have to accept the difference between 'चन्द्रसदृशं मुखम्, and 'चन्द्र इव मुखम्' both accepted examples of simile.[5]

For this, the Prācīnas suggest different solutions :—

Prācīna view (*i*): The difference between *Rūpaka* and *Upamā* lies in that in the *Rūpaka* there arises a cognition of *tādrūpya* on the basis of *lakṣaṇā*, while in the *Upamā* there is no such *tādrūpyapratyaya*. This *tādrūpya cognition* is nothing but the knowledge of the face (*viṣaya*), in the example, 'मुखं चन्द्रः' as possessing *candratva* (i.e.) the knowledge of the face (the compared object) with *candratva* as the delimiting adjunct of the *viṣayitā* (विषयितावच्छेदकं), the special property of the standard of comparison. How does such a cognition arise when there is no means for it and when we perceive the difference between face (viṣaya) and moon (viṣayin)? Here the Prācīnas explain the means of

5. In the instance चन्द्रसदृशं मुखम् the abheda (identity) is the relation between the two nāmārthas— चन्द्रसदृशं and मुखं but in the instance मुखं चन्द्र इव, either candra is related to sādṛśya (the meaning of the nipāta-*iva*) by *pratiyogitva* (which is known by saṁsargamaryādā) and the *sādṛśya* is related to *mukha* by *anuyogitva*, or the word *candraḥ* means by lakṣaṇā *candrapratiyogika-sādṛśyavān* as in the case of rūpaka, and the relation between candra and sadṛśa, viz. *pratiyogitva* is known as the *śabdārtha*.

this kind of knowledge as *vyañjanā,* which can be however adopted in the word 'face' as in the instances of *śleṣālaṅkāra ;* and this cognition through *vyañjanā* is in no way obstructed by the contradictory perception (*pratyakṣabādha*). Hence the *tādrūpya cognition* is possible in *Rūpaka.*

Again, another objection is raised: no doubt, there arises a cognition which presents the *tādrūpya* between the *candra-sadṛśa* and *candra* in that both of them are conveyed by the word '*candra*' through *lakṣaṇā ;* but how can one cognise the *candra-tādrūpya* as related to face when it is known, (as conveyed by the word 'mukha' with *mukhatva* as its *śakyatāvaccheda*) as possessing its own property, *mukhatva* ? In the famous instances of Rūpaka— 'वक्रे चन्द्रमसि स्थिते किमपरः शीतांशु रुज्जृम्भते' the sahṛdayas do, however, experience the *viṣayitādrūpya* in *viṣaya* (i.e.) the face as possessing the *tādrūpya* of the moon, a fact which however requires a satisfactory explanation.

To this the Prācīnas reply that there arises the cognition of the face as possessing *candra-tādrūpya* on the basis of the rule: '*tadabhinnābhinnasya tadabhinnatvam*—If A is equal to B and if B is equal to C, then A is equal to C.' It has been already said that there arises the *tādrūpya pratyaya* (through the extraordinary power of *vyañjanā*) of the *candra sadṛśa* (the secondary sense of the word 'candra') with the special property of candra as the delimiting adjunct of lakṣyatā. Similarly it can be also said that on the basis of the cognition of identity between *candra sadṛśa* and *mukha* (by the rule—नामार्थयोरभेदः संसर्गः), the face also is known as *candratādrūpyavān* (i.e.) known with candratva.

Prācīna view (ii): Others offer an easier explanation to distinguish Upamā from Rūpaka. Though in the example of Rūpaka—mukham candraḥ—the word 'candra' conveys through lakṣaṇā the sense *candra-sadṛśa* (i.e.) the face with *candrasadṛśatva* as the delimiting adjunct of lakṣyatā, yet it conveys also the face (through lakṣaṇā itself) with *candratva* as the delimiting adjunct of lakṣyatā, so much so that there arises a cognition of identity between *candrasadṛśa* (the secondary sense of the word 'candra') and *face* (the primary sense of the word 'mukha') as two *nāmārthas.* Such a knowledge of face from the word 'candra' with candratva as the delimiting adjunct is possible just as from the word 'gaṅgāyām' one gets the knowledge of the 'bank' with *gaṅgātva* as its delimiting adjunct of lakṣyatā. On the basis of the knowledge of identity arises the knowledge of the face as possessing the special qualities of moon such as brightness, just as one derives the

knowledge of coolness and sanctity as related to the bank of the Ganges. The word '*tādrūpya*' means the special properties found in viṣayin—moon. The cognition of the identity between moon and face generates another cognition which has as its object the special qualities associated with moon. So there is even the difference in cognition arising from statements involving Rūpaka and Upamā.

Prācīna view (iii): Yet others opine that in instances of Upamā, the *sādṛśya* (similarity) is associated with *bheda* (difference), so that cognition of bheda and sādṛśya arise, while in those of Rūpaka, it is not associated with bheda (i.e.) there is only one cognition with sādṛśya as its object (like candrasadṛśa).

The Navīna[6] *view is this*: In the Rūpaka 'मुखं चन्द्रः' there arises the verbal cognition of the identity between the two *nāmārthas*—face and moon—even without lakṣaṇā in the word 'candraḥ'. It is accepted that verbal cognition arises even when there was already a valid contradictory cognition. That is why śabda is spoken of as possessing a unique power of generating a cognition presenting even a non-existing object[7]—object whose negation or absence is experienced. But in the instance 'वह्निना सिञ्चति—(one) sprinkles with fire', no verbal cognition arises because there is no *yogyatājñāna*—cognition of congruity (i.e.) fire is not only previously unknown as the instrument of sprinkling but is also known as incapable of it. In the instance 'मुखं चन्द्रः' though the difference between face and moon is experienced, there arises an *āhāryayogyatājñāna*[8]—a cognition of its capacity which arises on mere supposition though the contrary is known to be true. And it is held that from such an invalid yogyatājñāna arises a (valid) verbal cognition of the identity between face and moon.

They suggest another alternative thus:—In such instances as 'मुखं चन्द्रः' the śābdabodha is *āhārya* (invalid), in view of the fact that the yogyatājñāna is not at all considered as a condition of the śābdabodha and that the rule that the āhārya cognition belongs to the kind of perception only, is not accepted. In the Rūpaka 'मुखं चन्द्रः' arises

6. The Navīna view belongs to Appayya Dikshita as expounded in his Citramīmāṁsā.

7. Compare the Ślokavārttika, I. 1. 2 'अत्यन्तासत्यपि ज्ञानमर्थे शब्दः करोत हि'।

8. 'बाधकाले इच्छाजन्यं ज्ञानं आहार्यम् ॥

the invalid cognition of identity between face and moon—the two primary senses of the words 'mukham' and 'candraḥ', and not one primary sense and one secondary sense. They add that even the Prācīnas are said to have accepted that in such instances there arises a cognition of identity between the two vācyārthas; otherwise in the Rūpaka—राजनारायणं लक्ष्मीस्त्वामालिङ्गति निर्भरम्—the Goddess of Wealth incessantly embraces King-Nārāyaṇa (the Nārāyaṇa-like king)—the embrace of Goddess Lakṣmī cannot be described unless the identity between the king and Nārāyaṇa (God Viṣṇu) is cognised, according to the rule— नामार्थयोरभेदः संसर्गः); and in the Upamā पादाम्बुजं भवतु मे विजयाय मञ्जुमञ्जीरशिञ्जितमनोहरमम्बिकायाः —May the lotus-like foot of Goddess Ambikā which is beautiful by the sounds of the handsome anklet, be for your victory'—the beauty of the foot cannot be explained in reference to the lotus-flower if we split the compound 'पाद एवांबुजम्' (where the lotus-flower, the meaning of the word—अम्बुजं, becomes the chief idea of the compound). If in the Rūpaka and Upamā alike *lakṣaṇā* is adopted in the sense of *sadṛśa*, the statement of the Prācīnas that the unintelligibility of the contextual meaning is the basis for lakṣāṇā in Rūpaka and Upamā would be of no validity. If in the Rūpaka—राजनारायणं —the word 'nārāyaṇa' means *nārāyaṇasadṛśa* through *lakṣaṇā*, the unintelligibility of the contextual idea (the embrace of Viṣṇu by Lakṣmī) can be explained even if it means nārāyaṇasadṛśa as an instance of Upamā. So also in the Upamā— 'पादांबुजं' the same can be said even if it is taken as a Rūpaka— 'पाद एवां' बुजम्.' This difficulty, the Navīnas add, is not only experienced in the *compound usages* but also in the *vyastraprayogas*—non-compound usages—involving Upamā and Rūpaka in the instances— 'कृपया सुधया सिञ्च॥'

Moreover, the Navīnas raise a question against the Prācīnas: If in the rūpaka the words denoting the standard of comparison convey by lakṣaṇā *tatsadṛśa*, it is to be accepted that the *lakṣyatāvacchedaka* (the delimiting adjunct of lakṣyatā) is *sādṛśya* (similarity); then, is this similarity cognised with its particular properties or with the general properties? In the former case, in the instance 'सुन्दरं मुखं चन्द्रः the word 'candra' means *candrasadṛśa* and as such conveys the *sādṛśya* with the special property—sundaratva (beautifulness) and the word 'sundara' also conveys the same by its abhidhāśakti, so that there is the fallacy of repetition (पौनरुक्त्यम्) (i.e.) one idea is conveyed by two words. In the latter case, since the similarity is given expression to by the word, it will be an Upamā and not Rūpaka. It is

held even by the Prācīnas that in the well-known Upamās the similarity (sādṛśya) is conveyed by words either through abhidhā or through lakṣaṇā. Hence the Navīnas conclude that it is to be accepted even by the Prācīnas that in Rūpaka there arises invariably a (valid or invalid) cognition of the identity between the upameya (compared) and the upamāna (the comparable), the two nāmārthas.

JAGANNĀTHA'S VIEW: HIS ADHERENCE TO THE PRĀCĪNA VIEW.

Now Jagannātha examines which of the aforesaid views is to be accepted. He adheres to the Prācīna view and points out some main defects in that of the Navīnas. The very argument (of the Navīnas) that in Rūpaka a cognition of identity between two nāmārthas arises is not acceptable, since in Rūpaka as in Upamā such an identification is possible only when the general beautiful qualities of those two objects are previously known. In the instances 'भारतं नाकमण्डलं. नगरं विधुमण्डलं' the cognition of identity arises even without knowing it as an instance of Rūpaka, for the knowledge of the latter depends upon the knowledge of the general qualities which are conveyed by *ambiguous* words like सुपर्वालंकृत–ornamented by suparvans (Devas and learned Pandits). In the famous example 'मुखं चन्द्रः' the similarity between face and moon is so well-known that it does not generally require any special mention or description. So it is to be accepted that in Rūpaka there is the adoption of lakṣaṇā in the sense of *sadṛśa*—a fact which does not any way depend on the cognition of identity. And it is said that the statements of the unreal or non-existing relation of two objects do not depend on anything like the sādṛśya and its cognition, but those which contain a metaphor are based on the knowledge of the special or general qualities of the objects, the compared and the comparable, that the abheda cognised in rūpaka is nothing but the tādrūpya cognised on the basis of vyañjanā.

The difference between Rūpaka and Upamā is explained that in Rūpaka sādṛśya is cognised, not as associated with bheda (difference) between the compared and the comparable, while in Upamā it is known as associated with bheda.[9] Again in the example 'राजनारायणं' the compound conveys (through lakṣaṇā) the idea 'राजाभिन्ननारायणसदृश,'

9. Compare the definitions of Upamā and Rūpaka—(*a*) 'साद्दश्यमुपमा भेदे' Kāvyaprakāśa. Ullāsa X. Verse 1. 'उपमैव तिरोभूतभेदा रूपकमिष्यते'

—similar to Nārāyaṇa who is identical with the king—with *nārāyaṇatva* as its delimiting adjunct, so much so there is no unintelligibility of the contextual idea—the embrace of Kṛṣṇa by Lakṣmī. If the viśeṣaṇasamāsa is accepted in the instance— 'पादाम्बुजम्' the secondary sense of the word 'ambuja' viz. ambujasadṛśa, would be the chief idea of the compound; and there would be the *anupapatti*—unintelligibility of the contextual idea (mañjīraśiñjitamanoharatva); but if it is accepted as an *upamitasamāsa* (i.e.) the compound conveying by lakṣaṇā the idea—ambujasadṛśapāda (lotus-like foot) where sādṛśya is associated with *bheda,* then the chief sense of the compound in the sense of the last component element of the compound, (i.e.) the foot of the Goddess, which has got the natural beauty on account of the beautiful sounds of the anklets.

Patañjali's[10] explanation of usages involving imposed identity under four heads—tātsthya, tāddharmya, tatsāmīpya and tatsāhacarya—supports the Prācīna view that *there is the sāropa lakṣaṇā in Rūpaka.*

GAUṆĪ: SĀDHYAVASĀNĀ (INTRO-SUSCEPTIVE)

The sādhyavasānā variety of lakṣaṇā is illustrated by 'candrarājī virājate: 'there shines a row of moons'. Some hold that the word 'candra' conveys by the power of lakṣaṇā *face* with the delimiting adjunct—mukhatva—of the lakṣyatā, yet the face becomes the object of śābdabodha with *candratva* as the delimiting adjunct of the lakṣyatā. This is possible when we do not accept the rule that the recollection of the senses of the words and the śābdabodha of those senses should have the same *prakāras.* Others opine that the face is first known through lakṣaṇā as *face* (with faceness as the delimiting adjunct of the lakṣyatā) from the word 'candra' and is subsequently cognised through vyañjanā as *candra* (with candratva as the delimiting adjunct of the

10. Patañjali in his Bhāṣya under the Sūtra—पुंयोगादाख्यायां (IV. I. 48) says: 'Since different objects do not possess identity, how is one thing spoken of as identical with other? This identity can be imposed under four conditions: (1) *tātsthya* (resting upon one another); (2) *tāddharmya* (possessing the same qualities); (3) *tatsāmīpya* (neighbourhood); and (4) *tatsāhacarya* (association). The *tātsthya* is illustrated by 'mañcāḥ hasanti—the cushions smile', where the identity between the cushion and the people in the cushion is imposed. (2) The *tāddharmya* is illustrated—jaṭī Brahmadattaḥ, where the actions of Brahmadatta are found in the patted-haired man and as such, the identity of jaṭī and Brahmadatta is imposed. (3) *tatsāmīpya* is illustrated by the 'Gaṅgāyām ghoṣaḥ' and (4) *tatsāhacarya* is illustrated by 'kuntān praveśaya' where the identity between the sticks or spears and the persons wearing them is imposed.'

vyaṅgyatā). In either case the face is known as *face* as it is known as *candra* ; and this is explained as the feature distinguishing the sādhyavasānā from the sāropā. Some others hold that just like in an invalid perception, the face is not known as *face* but is known as *candra,* and the distinctive feature of this is the non-cognition of the face as face (i.e.) of the object compared—mukha—with mukhatva as the delimiting adjunct of the viṣayatā. Jagannātha, however, contends that in certain instances of sādhyavasānā there arise among the sahṛdayas cognitions of viṣaya (face) in both the capacities of viṣaya and viṣayin (face and moon) and so, has shown his partiality for the first and second views.

Abhiṣeka-Nāṭaka

(An English Translation with Notes.)

K. R. Pisharoti.

Abhiṣeka-Nāṭaka

ACT III

[*Then enter Śaṅkukarṇa*]

Śaṅkukarṇa. Who is there on guard at the Golden-gateway ?

[*Entering*]

Portress. Sir, I am Vijaya. What may I do ?

Śaṅkukarṇa. Inform, inform His Majesty, the Lord of Lanka, that the Aśoka garden is destroyed.[1] For,

> That Aśoka garden, where our Lord's Queen, Maṇḍodari who delights to adorn herself, never plucks the tender sprouts on account of love, where the blowing *Malaya* breeze never blows on account of fear, where the young trees have never been touched even by hands—that Aśoka garden belonging to the enemy of Śakra has been demolished—so inform His Majesty. (1)

Portress. I have always been attending upon my lord and I have never before seen such trepidation. What is the matter ?

Śaṅkukarṇa. Madam, it's a serious matter. Go inform His Majesty quick.

Portress. Sir, I am informing.

[*Exit*

Śaṅkukarṇa. [*Looking in front*] Ha ! Here is His Majesty, Lord of Lanka, coming this way : who indeed :

> is rushing along quickly in great anger like the Sun ready to burn down the world at the end of the *Yuga*, the lord whose

1. The description emphasises the loss sustained. The queen does not pluck a sprout for love and even the *Malaya* breeze dare not disturb it for fear. Naturally Śaṅkukarṇa is upset.

stern eyes are spotless like the lotus and who is preceded by bearers of golden-torches. (2)

[*Then enter Rāvaṇa as described*]

Rāvaṇa. What, what, ho, do I hear, O bringer of strange[2] news. Tell me now quick by which death-loving, bold and arrogant man have I been insulted by the destruction of my garden ? (3)

Śaṅkukarṇa. [*Approaching*] Victory, Your Majesty ! The Aśoka garden has been completely destroyed by a monkey who came all unknown.

Rāvaṇa. [*With contempt*] What ? By a monkey ? Go quick bring him a captive.

Śaṅkukarṇa. As Your Majesty orders.

[*Exit*

Rāvaṇa. Well, well[3] :

If by Gods has this insult been done to me who have struck terror in battle unto all the three worlds, then shall they, who live on the elixir of life, soon suffer the consequences of their action born of wickedness. (4)

[*Entering*][4]

Śaṅkukarṇa. Victory Your Majesty ! Your Majesty, very strong indeed is that monkey. The *Śāla* trees have all been crushed by him as if they were lotus stems ; the *Daruparvata* was broken by his fists ; the bowers of creepers were crushed in his palms ; the keepers of the *Pramadavana* were made unconscious by his mere roar. Be pleased, Your Majesty, to order an army strong enough to capture him.

2. The news is strange to Rāvaṇa. It is inconceivable that in his own city of Lanka and in his immediate presence anybody should come and tamper with his cherished garden.

3. That an unknown monkey caused the havoc only adds fuel to the fire. He takes a great vow to destroy the author of the mischief.

4. In what follows Śaṅkukarṇa describes step by step the havoc caused by Hanūmān : first the destruction of the garden, then that of the army a thousand strong, then that of the five commanders and prince Akṣa, and last the duel between Hanūmān and Indrajit, ending with the capture of the former.

Rāvaṇa. Order then an army a thousand strong to capture the monkey.

Śaṅkukarṇa. As Your Majesty orders. [*Going out and entering*] Victory, Your Majesty!

> Our own strong soldiers have all been quickly killed with our own great trees by him who fought with trees. (5)

Rāvaṇa. What? Killed, is it? Order out Akṣakumāra to capture the monkey.

Śaṅkukarṇa. As Your Majesty orders.

[*Exit*

Rāvaṇa. [*Thinking*][5]

> My boy is bold, strong, and well-armed. He will capture the monkey by force or will kill him. (6)

Śaṅkukarṇa. [*Entering*] May Your Majesty be pleased to order another contingent of the army.

Rāvaṇa. Why?

Śaṅkukarṇa. Listen, Your Majesty! Seeing the prince rushing at the monkey the five commanders followed him, though Your Majesty did not order it.

Rāvaṇa. Well then!

Śaṅkukarṇa. Then seeing them rushing (at him), he retreated to the gate as if afraid and raising the golden gateway he killed with it the five commanders.

Rāvaṇa. Then, then?

Śaṅkukarṇa. Then Akṣakumāra:

> With his eyes blood-shot with anger, quickly drove his chariot yoked with fleet steeds and rained, like the season clouds, arrows on him in quick succession; these arrows the

5. Rāvaṇa hopes that Akṣa will either capture or kill Hanūmān. The very expression of hope is an indication of his anxiety. See note following.

monkey shook off, then dashed into the chariot, caught him by the neck and with gladdened face killed him with his fist. (7)

Rāvaṇa. [*With anger*][6]

What, what ? Killed is it ?

Wait now ; I shall myself go to that worm of a monkey and quickly reduce him to ashes in the fire of my anger. (8)

Śaṅkukarṇa. Be pleased, be pleased, Your Majesty ; Hearing that Akṣakumāra has been killed, prince Indrajit filled with anger has rushed against that monkey.

Rāvaṇa. So, then, go. Learn later news.

Śaṅkukarṇa. As Your Majesty orders.

[*Exit*

Rāvaṇa. The prince is, indeed, well-armed :

The valorous must in the field of battle either die or gain victory ; but this is mean work and I am a bit anxious.[7] (9)

Śaṅkukarṇa. [*Entering*] Victory, Your Majesty ; Victory, Lord of Lanka ! Victory, O auspicious Monarch !

There was a terrific battle between the prince and himself. Then quickly now has that Vānara been bound by a rope. (10)

Rāvaṇa. What wonder is there that a monkey was tied down by the victor of Indra ! Who is there ?

[*Entering*]

Rakṣasa. Victory, Your Majesty.

Rāvaṇa. Go, call Vibhīṣaṇa.

6. The news was a great shock to him. It is all the worse because a monkey killed the prince, and in righteous anger he starts himself for the fray.

7. The old cocksuredness of Rāvaṇa is really ruffled. He admits to himself that he is anxious. A soldier expects no doubt victory or death in the field of battle. But here the enemy is so insignificant that there is no honour in either victory or death ; but at the same time, there is terrible risk.

Rākṣasa. As Your Majesty orders.

[*Exit*

Rāvaṇa. And you will go and bring that monkey.

Śaṅkukarṇa. As Your Majesty orders.

[*Exit*

Rāvaṇa. [*Thinking*]

Ha ! Alas !

The *Vānara* has entered Lanka taunting me—[8] Lanka which is unassailable even in mind, even when accompanied by *Suras* and *Dānavas*. (11)

The three worlds with all the *Suras* and *Dānavas* I conquered in battle, and in my haughtiness I approached Kailasa and shook Īśa and his consort with all his *gaṇas*, surrounding him. I received benedictions from him, but was cursed by both the Mountain-daughter and Nandi for discourtesy. Can this be that curse of mine in the garb of a monkey ? (12)

[*Then enter Vibhīṣaṇa*]

Vibhīṣaṇa. [*Wistfully*] Alas, indeed, His Majesty's intellect has become perverted. For :

Many a time was it said by me—'*Return Maithili unto him*'. It is a source of sorrow for his well wishers[9] that he does not listen to my words. (13)

[*Approaching*] Victory, Your Majesty !

Rāvaṇa. Come, Vibhīṣaṇa, come. Sit down.

Vibhīṣaṇa. Here do I sit down. [*sit down*]

8. This is an interesting soliloquy. For once Rāvaṇa feels non-plussed. He wonders if the powerful monkey can be the curse of Parvāti and Nandi incarnate.

9. This is a happy characterisation: Rāvaṇa's actions have been a source of sorrow for his friends. The natural perversion of his intellect is a source of grief for Vibhīṣaṇa; and this is now considerably enhanced by the first fruits of his vicious conduct. Hence he looks much depressed. Compare Rāvaṇa's speech following.

Rāvaṇa. Vibhīṣaṇa, you look sorrow-stricken ?

Vibhīṣaṇa. Sorrow, indeed, is the share of those who depend on the master who will not listen to advice.[10]

Rāvaṇa. Stop that story. Go thou and bring the *Vānara.*

Vibhīṣaṇa. As Your Majesty orders. [*Exit*]

[*Then enter Hanūmān held by Rākṣasas*]

All. Ah, this way, this way.

Hanūmān. I am not conquered by him, the wicked Rākṣasa ; I myself allowed to be conquered in my desire to see the Lord of Rākṣasas.[11] (14)

[*Approaching*] O king ! Thou art well ?

Rāvaṇa. [*Contemptuously*] Vibhīṣaṇa, what is that work of his ?

Vibhīṣaṇa. Your Majesty, much more than that.

Rāvaṇa. How dost thou know it ?

Vibhīṣaṇa. Your Majesty may be pleased to ask him who he is.

Rāvaṇa. O *Vānara !* Who art thou ? Goaded by what reason didst thou effect an entrance into our private quarters ?

Hanūmān. Ha ! Listen.

I am the direct son of Marut, born of Añjana. I am sent here by Rāghava and my name is Hanūmān.[12] (15)

Vibhīṣaṇa. Your Majesty ! Do you listen ?

Rāvaṇa. Well, what if I do ?

10. This is a vigorous reply and hence Rāvaṇa asks him to shut up.

11. Here Hanūman makes clear his position. He allowed himself to be captured.

12. Every word of his speech is significant. He announces his credentials who he is and whom he represents.

Vibhīṣaṇa. Hanūmān, what does the worthy Rāghava say ?

Hanūmān. Ah ! Listen to the commands of Rāma.

Rāvaṇa. What, what, the commands of Rāma ? Ah ! Kill him, that *Vānara.*

Vibhīṣaṇa. Be pleased, be pleased, Your Majesty ! Messengers are never to be killed, whatever their crime be. At least listen to Rāma's message and then do as Your Majesty thinks fit.

Rāvaṇa. Ah, *Vānara !* What does that man say ?

Hanūmān. Ha ! Listen :

> Resort thou to Śaṅkara, the best of shelters, or hide yourself in that impassable *Rasātala ;* I will send thee to the abode of Yama with your whole body cut up by my arrows.[13] (16)

Rāvaṇa. Ha ! Ha ! Ha !

> By divine missiles have the hosts of *Devas* been overcome by me ; all the *Daitya* chiefs are at my beck and call ; Paulastya has been deprived of his *Puṣpaka* and humbled. How, then, can the human Rāma fight me.[14] (17)

Hanūmān. If such art thou, why did you steal Rāma's wife in disguise ? [15]

Vibhīṣaṇa. Well has Hanūmān spoken.

> You removed Rāma by your *Māya ;* disguised yourself as a mendicant, and carried her away in stealth. (18)

Rāvaṇa. Vibhīṣaṇa ! Dost thou espouse the cause of the enemy ?

Vibhīṣaṇa. Be pleased, O King, to listen to my beneficent words—

> *Return the wedded spouse of Rāma.* I do not wish that this race is destroyed by you the best of *Rākṣasas.*[16] (19)

13. Note the bold message he gives as if from Rāma.

14. Rāvaṇa makes light of it by a reference to his past greatness and says that Rāma cannot come against him.

15. Note the quick retort of Hanūman. It is unworthy of a hero as Rāvaṇa pretends himself to be to have stolen Sīta and that under disguise. The same idea is further elaborated in the speech of Vibhīṣaṇa following.

16. Note the happy speech of Vibhīṣaṇa. He does not want the destruction of the Rākṣasa race and that at the instance of Rāvaṇa.

Rāvaṇa. Vibhīṣaṇa! Enough, enough of your fears.

How can the lion with the flowing manes be killed by a deer, or a huge elephant in rut by a fox? (20)

Hanūmān. Ho! Rāvaṇa. With thy fortune wheeling round, it is not proper for you to speak of Rāma thus.[17] Ho, not so!

O thou accursed *Night-prowler!* O Rāvaṇa, it ill becomes thee with thy virtue waning and strength gone to speak thus lowly of Rāghava, the bravest amongst the brave, the equal of the Lord of *Devas,* and the sole Lord of the Universe. (21)

Rāvaṇa. What, what, does he call me names? Kill that *Vānara.* Or, it is improper to kill a messenger. Śaṅkukarṇa, set fire to his tail and send him away.

Śaṅkukarṇa. As Your Majesty orders. This way, this way.

Rāvaṇa. Or, come here.

Hanūmān. I am here.

Rāvaṇa. Tell that man from me:

O Rāma, thou art insulted by me by carrying off your wife. If thou hast any reputation for bowmanship, offer me a great battle. (22)

Hanūmān. Soon shalt thou see:

With thy grand ramparts, gateways and streets destroyed, thou shalt be conquered by the mere twang of Rāghava's excellent bow with your city with all its encircling lovers' gardens destroyed by the hosts of Haris. (23)

Rāvaṇa. Ah! Away with that *Vānara.*

Rākṣasas. This way, this way.

[*Exit Hanūmān accompanied by Rākṣasas*]

Vibhīṣaṇa. Be pleased, be pleased, Your Majesty! With Your Majesty's permission I desire to speak something.[18]

17. The comparison that Rāvaṇa made forces a retort from Hanūman.

18. The incident following is cleverly introduced. Rāvaṇa is made to banish Vibhīṣaṇa and so he takes refuge under Rāma. This touches up his character: or he would have to be branded as a traitor.

Rāvaṇa. Speak out. It is good. We are listening.

Vibhīṣaṇa. The ruin of the Rākṣasa race is very imminent, I believe.

Rāvaṇa. Why so?

Vibhīṣaṇa. Through Your Majesty's indiscretion.

Rāvaṇa. What is that indiscretion of mine?

Vibhīṣaṇa. Indeed the stealing of Rāma's wife.

Rāvaṇa. What harm can there be through the stealing of Sīta?

Vibhīṣaṇa. Sin and—

Rāvaṇa. The *and* suggests that your speech is unfinished. Speak out.

Vibhīṣaṇa. It is indeed true.

Rāvaṇa. Vibhīṣaṇa! What is it thou hidest? I curse you on my life, if thou wilt not speak the truth.

Vibhīṣaṇa. Your Majesty must promise me *Abhaya.*

Rāvaṇa. I grant thee Abhaya. Speak out.

Vibhīṣaṇa. And a fierce battle.

Rāvaṇa. [*Angrily*] What, what, fierce battle, is it?

> Espousing the cause of my enemy, this bold and accursed Rākṣasa is addressing me rousing my anger. (24)

Who is there?

> Disregarding all brotherliness, he espouses the cause of the enemy. I wish not to see him. Hence remove that fellow. (25)

Vibhīṣaṇa. Be pleased, be pleased, Your Majesty! I shall myself go away.

> Thou hast ordered me away, O King, and I am going away free of all guilt. Suppress your anger and your passion and act as occasion demands.[19] (26)

19. The parting advice of Vibhīṣaṇa is quite worthy of himself and serves as a motto for every man of action.

[*Wandering about*] I shall even now

resort to that Lotus-eyed Lord amongst men, who carries the terrible bow, who has vowed the destruction of *Rāvaṇa* and who is famed for his care of his dependents and (shall) try to save the lost race of the Rākṣasas. (27)

[*Exit.*

Rāvaṇa. Ah! Gone is Vibhīṣaṇa. I shall now look to the safety of the city.[20]

[*Exit.*

ACT III[21]

20. This is strange. Rāvaṇa feels that he himself must see to the security of his capital. This is an evident indication that the mischief wrought by Hanūman affected him in no small measure.

21. This has been very popular among the *Cākyars*, or professional actors, of Kerala, who stage it under the title *Toraṇayudha*. I was recently afforded an opportunity—and for this I tender my grateful thanks to the Vice-Chancellor—to witness the staging of this act during the annual *Kūṭiyāṭṭam* in the temple at Irinjalakuda, Cochin State. The technique of the staging is very interesting and affords glimpses of the indigenous mode of acting a Samskrit drama. While I reserve for a future occasion a detailed notice of this acting, I wish to set forth here the differences in reading which I was able to gather in the course of the performance.

1. Page 26 (TSS. No. 26—1913), verse 1, pada 3: the *Cākyar* reads *ravikaraiḥ* instead of *api karaiḥ*.
2. Page 27: verse 2, pada 2: *dīpikāpurogaḥ* instead of *dīpikatpurogaḥ*.
3. Page 29: verse 6: he substitutes verse 9 on page 31 and reads *mahyamīṣan-manojvaram* instead of *mahyamīsā manojvaraḥ*.
4. Page 30: in line 4 he deletes *tataḥ*; reads *kapikīṭakam* instead of *kapi-jantukam* in verse 8; adds the word *parikramya* before *niṣkrāntaḥ*.
5. Page 31: substitutes verse 6 instead of 9 with the reading noticed above; omits lines 4 & 5; in line 8 reads *baddhyate* instead of *baddhaḥ*; and adds *śankukarṇa* before *tvāmapi*.
6. Page 32: verse 12, pada 4: he reads *dattam śāpam* instead of *dattam saptam*.

Manuṣyālayacandrika

(An English Translation with critical notes.)

K. R. Pisharoti and T. B. Nayar

PREFATORY NOTE

The *Manuṣyālayacandrika* is a small hand-book on Indian architecture with reference to secular structures and is the accepted code for Kerala architects. Three editions of the text are available, one in Nāgari script published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series and two others in Malayalam script with commentaries. They offer some variant readings. It is proposed to publish the text also after finishing the translation.

MANUṢYĀLAYACANDRIKA

CHAPTER I.

[*Section i : Benediction.*]

In the abode of Rājarājamaṅgala[1] there shine glorious the twin lustres unrivalled in the form of Nṛsimha and Yādava. (1)

May these lustres all fill my mind—the lustres that beam[2] with ever increased radiance at Kaṇvapura,[3] at Parakroḍa,[4] in the temple at Nāva,[5] in the village at Vallīvihāra,[6] in the temple of Aśvatha[7] and in the village of Keralādhīśvara ![8] (2)

There lives victorious the *Elephant-faced* deity, the son of the *Mountain-daughter*, [9]the receptacle of the great love of the Lord who is the resort of all good people and who is enshrined at Śrīmaṅgala[10]—

1. A variant reads *rājadrāja*—instead of *rājarāja*. If this reading is accepted, the word *rājat* must be taken as qualifying *tejodvitayam* and would mean *exceedingly shining*. The fact that there is no village of the name Rajarajamangalam in South Malabar indicates that the variant reading is correct. The temple in the village must evidently contain a double shrine, one dedicated to *Nṛsimha* and another to *Śrīkṛṣṇa* and of these the more important must be the former. Is this Rayamangalam in Tirumittakod village in Ponnani Taluk in South Malabar ?

2. The Trivandrum edition reads *virājati* instead of *virājata-*.

3. A variant reads *Kuṇḍapura* instead of *Kaṇvapura*. This is the well-known Trikkandiyur, two miles to the south of Tirur railway station, South Malabar. It has an ancient Śiva temple. This village is famous in literary history as being the abode of the great scholar Acyuta Pisharodi, the *Guru* of Meppattūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri.

4. This is the famous shrine at Triprangod, dedicated to Śiva. It is situate five miles to the south of Tirur railway station.

5. Nāva is the well-known Tirunavaya, close to the railway station at the 382nd mile from Madras, about half way between Tirur and Kuttipuram. There is an old shrine dedicated to Śrī Rāma. This is famous in all Malabar as being the place where the all-Kerala tests in Vedic proficiency are annually conducted.

6. A variant reads *malli* for *valli*. The reference is to the Mullepilli temple.

7. This is Ālattur, now called Alattiyur in Triprangod village, South Malabar.

8. This is the village called Keralapuram, now called Keraladhisvarapuram, two miles south of Tanur railway station, South Malabar. There is an ancient Śiva temple in the locality.

9. Here an interpretation is made which would connect the expressions—*śrīmaṅgalāspada* and *sadāśraya*—with *mattamataṅgajāsyah*. Such an interpretation is against the general tenour of language. If this view is accepted, then Maṅgala would be the abode of Gaṇapati and not, as we have interpreted, Śiva.

10. Maṅgala is a village near Tirur.

the God who is adored by all and who grants to his devotees all that they desire.[11] (3)

The writer, depending solely on the lotus-like feet of this God and devoted to learning was, however, moved (to undertake this work) of his own accord[12] for the instruction of the young,[13] thanks to the radiating kindness of his noble *Guru*. (4)

I always adorn (myself) with the great and generous lotus-like feet of those shining ones of the earth,[14] whose intelligence loves to dwell on the *Vedas* and whose conception[15] endows even Parameśvara with a form. (5)

[*Section ii : The basis of the work and its scope.*]

Having first bowed down to Druhiṇa who is naturally endowed with proficiency in all *Śilpas*,[16] I am writing this *Manuṣyālayacandrika* for the benefit of the dull.[17] (6)

11. The references above given clearly show that the author was a native of South Malabar. He was, according to one tradition, a native of Tirunavaya. If the alternate interpretation mentioned in note 9 be accepted, then we may have to conclude that he was a native of Maṅgala.

12. A variant reads *budhyāmu*—instead of *budhyā tū*. Does the author here imply a contrast to the author of the *Tantrasamuccaya*, which was written at the instance of Śrī Vikrama Deva of Calicut (1429 A.D.)?

13. A variant reads—*ne ca* for—*nāya*.

14. The reference is to Namputiri *Brahmins*. From the mode of reference, the author appears to have been a professional carpenter who studied the science under a Namputiri *Brahmin*.

15. This is an interesting reference. *Our Gods are our own creations.*

16. The term *nisargasaṁsidha* is variously interpreted. It may be taken to mean one who is proficient in all *Śilpas*, natural or devised. This explanation, ultimately meaning all things, *Sthāvara* and *Jaṅgama*, may be accepted, if *Druhiṇa* may be taken to mean *Brahma*. And this is the way it is usually understood. But Druhiṇa need not necessarily mean Brahma, for in chapter VI of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Bharata refers by this term to an ancient art-critic ; and since we have so far not even any tradition, associating Brahma with art criticism, we may well assume that Druhiṇa may be the earliest author in the field of literary criticism. Architecture is also art, and in Druhiṇa we may probably see the earliest authority in this branch of knowledge. It is on this basis that we have given the rendering. As a matter of fact a natural interpretation also would point to the same idea, for the phrase *nisargasaṁsidha* would better go with *pravīṇa* : that is to say, Druhiṇa was naturally endowed with proficiency in all arts and crafts. And it is only in the natural fitness of things that our author should at the beginning make his obeisance to the father of Indian architectural science. Further, such a reference would also indicate that he is following the time honoured conventions.

17. He is writing the treatise for the sake of the dull-witted. He has already

[18]There shine victorious the two treatises of Maya, *Prayogamañjari, Nibandhana,* the two treatises of Bhāskara,[19] and the works, called *Manumata, Gurudevapaddhati,*[20] *Śrīhariyajana,* and such other *āgamic* works.[21] (7)

The two treatises of Markandeya, the two *Ratnāvalis,* composed by Parāśara and Murāri, (the *Tantrasaras*),[22] the two schools of Kāśyapa and Viśvakarma, the *Kumārāgama,* the *Harisamhita,* with its commentary, (the treatise) called *Vivaraṇa,*[23] the *Vāstuvidya* and others[24]—

said that his object was *bālavibodhana.* By giving us the circle of readers that he intends his work for, he gives us the scope of his work. It is a first book to the science and it is also a hand-book. While this sets forth his modesty, this appears to be a necessary statement, particularly in view of the fact that he gives a long list of works later, which he says he has familiarised himself with.

18. The two verses together, following this, contain an interesting bibliography of works our author has consulted in the preparation of this treatise. Some at least of these works have yet to be discovered and some yet to be published. In any case we find that at the time of the author there was a large body of literature available on the subject. It is curious that there is no reference to the *Mānasāra*; the evident presumption is that this work was not popular in Kerala.

19. It is a point for consideration whether the phrase—*nibandhanabhāskarīya-yugmam*—would refer to two works or three works or four works. It may be interpreted to mean as follows: (*i*) the pair of works, *Nibandhana* and *Bhāskarīya*; (*ii*) *Nibandhana* and the two *Bhāskarīyas*; (*iii*) the two *Nibandhanas* and the two *Bhāskarīyas.* The exact interpretation would depend upon the presence or otherwise of the works mentioned. Local interpretation takes it as referring to three works. The term *Nibandhana* means an original treatise, and a work is referred to by this name; and we are inclined to think that the phrase means the two original treatises of Bhāskara and the *Nibandhana.*

20. There are two readings: *padhatiḥ śrī-* and *padhatiśrī-*.

21. The second half of the verse is a *samastapada.* All the works mentioned are very ancient treatises on the subject and they are, according to our author, *Āgamas* on the subject. These works, therefore, constitute the traditional lore on the subject.

22. Here again there is scope for different interpretation. According to one school, the phrase means the works, called *Ratnāvali,* by Parāśara and Murāri and the works, known as *Tantrasāras.* Others would have it that the phrase means the synopses written by Parāśara and Murāri. The question cannot be decided in the present state of our knowledge of the subject.

23. Notice the variant readings: *vivaraṇākhyam* and *vivaraṇādyam.* The former of these seems to be the better reading.

24. Of the two readings *-dikān* and *-dikam,* the former is better.

after seeing[25] these treatises and following the *Tantrasamuccaya*,[26] a brief exposition is here made.[27] (8)

[*Section iii : The preliminary procedure for house construction.*]

The caste Hindu[28] who desires to construct a house should choose as his *Guru*[29] a local *Brahmin*, possessing all virtues ; who should then

25. *Seeing* here means *studying*. Otherwise, the list serves no useful purpose.

26. The last *pāda* is important, for here we get the lowest limit of our author : he could not have lived earlier than 1429 A.D. when the *Tantrasamuccaya* was written. The verse is also important in that our author says that he has accepted the fundamentals of the science as formulated in the ancient *Āgamic* works and that he has adapted them to the needs of Kerala on the basis of the *Tantrasamuccaya*. Consequently, not only is this a hand-book for architects of Kerala, but it also shows that Kerala architecture is a lineal descendant of the Indian architecture.

27. A detailed study of the works mentioned here will be made in the introduction. Of the various works mentioned here, some notices may be had in the Dictionary of Hindu Architecture by Prof. P. K. Acarya regarding Maya, Kāśyapa and Viśvakarma, and excepting these none other is mentioned under the *Āgamic* treatises, even though our author treats as *Āgamas* the treatises of Bhāskara, Manu and Gurudeva and the work, called *Prayogamañjari*, which last apparently has been a very popular work in Kerala.

28. Here is an interesting point for consideration. The author here lays down that when one belonging to the castes, i.e., a *Savarṇa*, desires to build a house, he must first choose a *Brahmin* as his *Guru* who should then get the house built according to the injunctions laid down in the *Śāstras*. Why is this reference to caste Hindus and what is its significance ? Are we to understand that caste Hindus alone need conform to the *Śāstras ?* This seems to be correct, if we may take our stand on current practice. Or does this restriction apply only to the choice of the *Guru ?* This is quite sensible, because we cannot expect a *Brahmin* to function as the *Guru* of a non-caste Hindu. Or, can it be that since the science of architecture deals with the building of caste Hindu houses, religious and secular, it has reference only to caste Hindu houses and not to those of non-caste Hindus ? These latter may, or may not, follow these injunctions. We may here see another local convention : even at the time of the advent of the Portuguese and afterwards until the middle of the sixteenth century at least, if not later, the local convention required that houses of wood and stone were built only for Gods and kings. Every one else had to live in mud houses, that is, temporary houses. Consistent with this convention of the locality, when the Portuguese built their fort, they handed it back to the King of Cochin as a present and then took it back from him to use it as a source of protection for themselves and himself and his subjects. Can we not find in this the basis of the old historical convention ? These rules do not apply to non-caste Hindus, for the simple reason that they lived only in temporary houses during that time. If this point of view may be accepted, here have we a clue to the date of the author : he must have lived when this convention was in full force.

29. Note the qualification laid down for the *Guru*. Apart from the fact that

choose a plot suitable for the caste and offer *Vāstupūja*[30]; and then get the house built in accordance with *Śāstraic* injunctions by proficient architects.[31] (9)

By *Brahmins* who know well what is laid down in the *Vedas* and *Āgamas* must be laid down the principles of religious and secular structures.[32] In all structures the function of the carpenter and the mason is simply to carry out the work of putting together wood and masonry work[33] under their instruction. (10)

[*Section iv : The characteristics of the specialists engaged in the work.*]

[34]*Sthapati, Sūtragrāhi, Takṣaka* and *Vardhaki*, each clever in his own special work, are in order the four classes of artisans to be chosen. (11)

he should be virtuous, he must be familiar with local conditions. This is an important proviso. A building has to be designed with special reference to the conditions obtaining in the particular place and with reference to the functions of the people for whom it is intended. Further, it should also conform to the standards and conventions of architecture generally accepted in the locality. In other words, we have here an implied convention that the structure should be indigenous and not exotic.

30. The subject will be dealt with in detail later. The *Vāstu* is conceived as being predominated by the *Vāstu-puruṣa*, a cruel demon, who was felled down of yore by all the *Devas* who are now supposed to be sitting upon him as he lies prostrate. See *Vāstuvidya*, Chapter IV, verses 47-52; notes in the translation by Pisharoti and Menon, Calcutta Oriental Journal, Vol. II.

31. The presence of a noble local man, well-versed in the principles of the science of architecture ensures for the structure conformity to local standards, modes, designs and technical details. The accordance to *Śāstraic* injunctions secures for it a continuity with traditional conventions and styles, while the insistence upon clever workmen, carpenters and masons, ensures economy, strength and beauty consistent with utility.

32. This is a very important idea. At the time of the author all knowledge was in the hands of the *Brahmins*, both theoretical and practical, religious and secular. The reference to the *Vedas* is here probably meant only to give the sanction of a great name to the science of architecture, though the *Vedas* as a whole throw some light on the beginnings of this science. The *Āgamas* came later and they contain the codified knowledge of architecture, including sculpture, and therefore a familiarity with them was a necessary condition for any one to be able to lay down the principles of religious and secular structures.

33. A variant reads *mṛcchilādeḥ* for *mṛcchilādyaiḥ*.

34. From the general tenour of the verses, one is inclined to think that the author is dividing skilled workmen into four classes, the *Sthapati* and the rest.

He is *Sthapati*, the truthful, who is clever in all kinds of work laid down in all sciences, who is always conscientious[35] and pure, virtuous and void of jealousy and (such) other (evil passions).[36] (12)

Sthapati is to be known as the director of the structure ; comparable to him, generally, in virtues is the *Sūtragrāhi*, his son or disciple, who knows the views of the *Sthapati*[37]; the ever content *Takṣaka* is so called because of his fashioning things tangible. The careful *Vardhaki* is held to be clever in joining wood and other materials. (13)

Without these four, *Sthapati* and the rest, it is not possible to get any house constructed.[38] Hence the shrewd *Brahmin* must please them and get[39] houses constructed by them. (14)

[*Section v : The importance of following regulations.*]

Evils certainly befall those who dwell in a house which does not conform to regulations.[40] Hence the whole (structure) from the base-

From their characterisation it will be found that all of them are not skilled workmen. But from verse 15, it is seen that the *Brahmin Guru* chosen must get these four types of workmen to carry out the work. Architectural treatises, like the *Vāstuvidya*, would have it that these four classes are not skilled workmen in the general sense of the term: they are simply experts in different branches of work, such as designing, drawing, joinery, etc. Here, then, is some amount of confusion on the theoretical side, but on the practical side, there is complete accommodation. For, here all workmen are classed together, and each is again classed under a particular type according to his skill in one or other of the sections of the work. This is quite in keeping with the conditions in Kerala, where workmen are called *Āśāris* and these are differentiated as *Taccan*, *Kaṇakkan*, etc. As a matter of fact in everyday practice, the *Taccan* combines in himself the functions of the *Sthapati* and *Sūtragrāhi*, and the oldest member among the workmen generally functions as *Taccan*.

35. A variant reads *sarvadāvahita* instead of *sarvadā vihita*.

36. The other evil passions are *kāma*, *krodha*, *mada*, *moha*, etc.

37. This is an important proviso for he must give effect to the views of the *Sthapati*. He is the man at the spot to carry out the work, and all other workmen are under his control.

38. Compare the last two verses of the *Vastuvidya*, Chapter I (Pisharoti and Menon's Translation: COJ., Vol. I—June.).

39. A variant reads *kārayatām* instead of *kārayatāt*.

40. Here our author simply echoes the accepted conventions, probably based on practical experience. For, it is well-known that some houses have earned a proverbial notoriety as being unlucky.

ment to the crown[41] must be first conceived in mind and then the work begun.[42] (15)

[Section vi : The preliminary items of work to be done when the construction of a house is proposed.]

Then in order is to be made the examination[43] of the site, its orientation, and the choice of the auspicious *Vīthis,*[44] and this is to be followed by the laying down of the rules regarding the measures, the court-yard, the basement, and the other *Aṅgas* as well as the external (structures).[45] (16)

[Section vii : Choice of site.]

That site is held to be excellent which is rich in cows and men, in trees abounding in fruits and flowers and juice, which is even and dipping eastwards, which is soft, produces a firm sound, has water flowing in a circumambulating direction and is rich in water, in which seeds quickly sprout up and the soil is dense and which is neither too hot nor too cold. The opposite of this is *Adhama ;* and the mixed is *Madhyama.* (17)

A site which is circular or crescent-like, or has three corners or five or six, or has the form of a trident or a seive or has a surface like the fish, elephant, tortoise, or a cow's head, which has in it ashes, charcoal, husks, bones and hair, which has vermins[46] and ant-hills, which is low in the centre, which has subterranean cavities, which has a bad odour and which faces a corner—such a site is to be shunned.[47] (18)

41. Another reading is *janmādyavasānāntam* instead of *janmādyapidhānāntam.* Both convey the same idea. *Pidhāna* literally means the cover or lid ; here it evidently means the roof of the structure. As being more technical, we accept the latter reading.

42. The second half of the verse must stand by itself, for here he switches off to another topic, the need for preliminary work.

43. These constitute the preliminary work, when the building of a house is decided upon. In the following the author details each one of these items.

44. A variant reads *parigrahā ca* instead of *parigrahśca.*

45. By external structures are meant those like cattleshed, tank, well, etc.

46. A variant reads *citi* instead of *kṛmi.*

47. Here are set forth the general features of a site to be chosen for dwelling houses ; and here one can see the reason underlying the choice. Compare the details mentioned in the *Vastuvidya,* Chapter I.

[*Section viii : Description of Vīthis.*]

The eight *Vīthis—Govīthi, Agnivīthi, Yamavīthi, Bhūtavīthi, Jalavīthi, Nāgavīthi, Gajavīthi, Dhānyavīthi*—these, in order, dipping from the west to the east, bring to the dwellers therein prosperity, loss of wealth, loss of self, loss of wealth, poverty, loss of children, wealth and happiness.[48] (19)

[*Section ix : The rise and slope of the site and their effects.*]

A site with a low-lying centre leads to exile ; that with a rising centre, to destruction of wealth, happiness, etc. ; and that which slopes in the directions, beginning with the *Agni* (corner) and ending with the *Vāyu* (corner) generally causes poverty.[49] (20)

A house that is built on a site with a rising centre or with rising east leads to prosperity for the first ten years ; with rising south-east and south, for hundred years ; with rising south-west, for a thousand years ; with rising west, for five hundred years ; and if it is built on a site (with a rise) in the other three corners it will bring in order prosperity for twelve, eight and six years[50] and then the fruits[51] originally associated with them.[52] (21)

[*Section x : The presence of trees and the consequent effects.*]

The presence of *Bakula* (Mimusops Elenji) and *Vaṭa* (Ficus bengalensis) in the east, of *Udumbara* (Ficus glomerata) and *Ciñca* (Tamarindus indica) in the south, of *Pippala* (Ficus religiosa) and *Saptaccada* (Alstonia scholaris) in the west and *Plakṣa* (Ficus Infectoria) and *Nāga* (Rottlera tinctoria) in the north, is auspicious. And it is particularly good to have in order from the east *Panasa* (Artocarpus

48. The *Vīthis* are not mentioned in the *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*. Those mentioned in the *Vāstuvidya* do not agree with what is given here. Both these authors accept the general principle that sites sloping northwards and eastwards are auspicious.

49. See Plate I-A.

50. This idea is not found in the *Vāstuvidya*.

51. It will be noticed that to the sites with these dispositions have already been assigned certain effects in the preceding verse. These effects the dwellers will realise after the period specified here. Thus sites with rising centre and east have loss of wealth and prosperity associated with them, but for the first ten years, they would bring prosperity.

52. If we compare these three verses, we find in the first place a series of

17

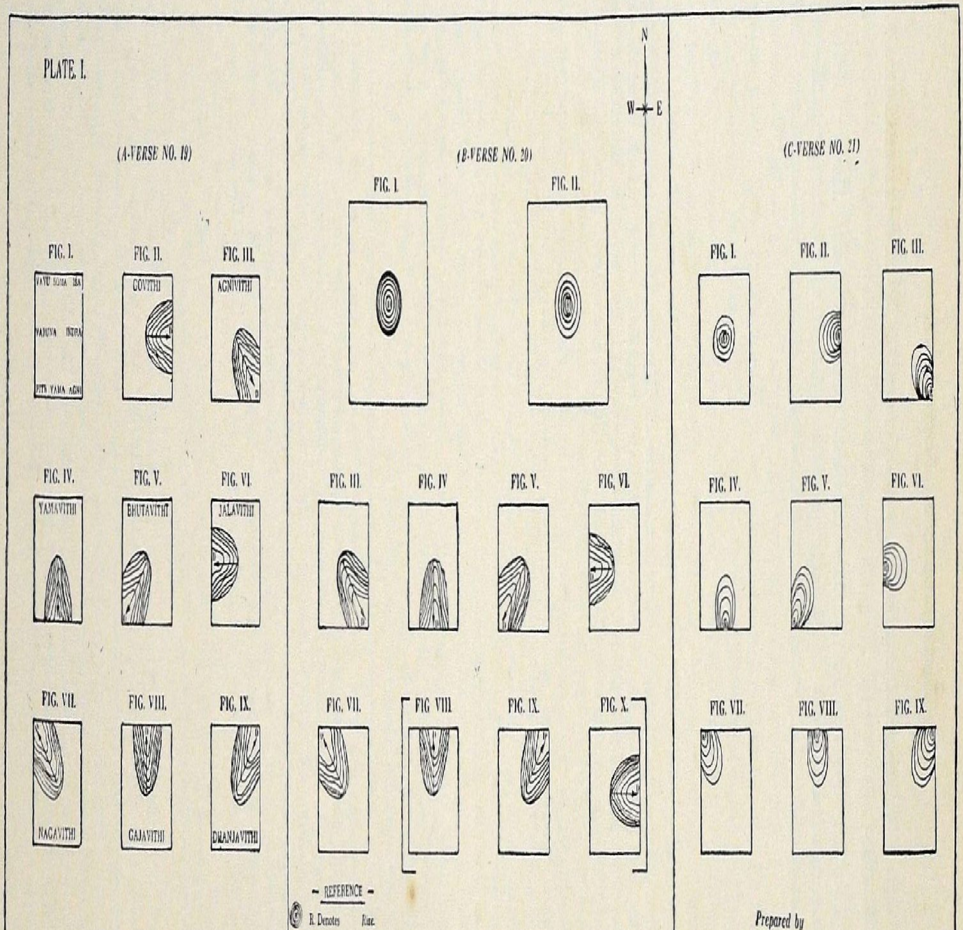
PLATE. I.
(A-VERSE NO. 19)
FIG. I.
FIG. II.
FIG. III.
VAYU SOMA ISA
VARUNA INDRA
PITR YAMA AGNI
GOVITHI
AGNIVITHI
FIG. IV.
FIG. V.
FIG. VI.
YAMAVITHI
BHUTAVITHI
JALAVITHI
FIG. VII.
FIG. VIII.
FIG. IX.
NAGAVITHI
GAJAVITHI
DHANJAVITHI
(B-VERSE NO. 20)
N
W E
FIG. I
FIG. II.
FIG. III.
FIG. IV
FIG. V.
FIG. VI.
FIG. VII.
FIG VIII
FIG. IX.
FIG. X.
- REFERENCE -
R. Denotes Rise.
D Denotes Dip.
(C-VERSE NO. 21)
FIG. I.
FIG. II.
FIG. III.
FIG. IV.
FIG. V.
FIG. VI.
FIG. VII.
FIG. VIII.
FIG. IX.
Prepared by
Prof. K. R. PISHAROTI

integrifolia), *Pūga* (Areca catechu), *Kera* (Cocos nucifera) and *Cūta* (Mangifera indica). (22)

Aśvatha (Ficus religiosa) involves fear from fire; *Plakṣa* (Ficus infectoria) causes madness; *Nyagrodha* (Ficus bengalensis), fear from enemies; *Udumbara* (Ficus glomerata), stomach-ache; when these

eight types where the opposite sides rise and dip and amongst them only three types are held to be auspicious, those dipping north, east and north-east. In the second series, we have only types which slope. It is to be noticed here that the series is not complete because no reference is made to those which slope north, north-east and east. We may possibly assume that these are auspicious on the basis of the preceding series and this is in general agreement with the principle already laid down that sites dipping northwards and eastwards are held to be good. Again in this series we have mention made of a site which rises towards the centre and this is inconsistent with the rest which only slope. Because of the absence of the three types, sloping northwards, north-eastwards and eastwards, because of the reference to one type rising—and note this type is again mentioned in the following verse, one may be inclined to raise the question of the validity of this verse. Coming to the third series, we have nine types noticed, sites having a rise. The first of the series then deals with types which have both a rise and dip, the second, with those having only slope and the third, with those having rise only. These various types are tabulated below:

	Verse 19.			Verse 20.			Verse 21.			
No.	Rise	Dip	Result	Rise	Dip	Result	Rise	Dip	Result	
1.	W	E	Prosperity		(E)	Prosperity	W		Prosperity	
2.	N.W	S.E	Loss		S.E.	Poverty	N.W.		Poverty	
3.	N	S	„		S	„	N		Prosperity	12 yrs.
4.	N.E.	S.W.	„		S.W.	„	N.E.		„	6 „
5.	E.	W	„		W	„	E		„	10 „
6.	S.E.	N.W.	„		N.W.	„	S.E.		„	10 „
7.	S	N	Prosperity		(N)	Wealth	S		„	100 „
8.	S.W.	N.E.	„		(N.E.)	„	S.W.		„	1000 „
9.				Centre		Loss	Centre		„	10 „
10.					Centre	Exile				

From the above it will be seen that generally speaking three types are prosperous in all the series and they are the first, the seventh and the eighth, while the rest are unlucky. In these prosperous types, there is both rise and dip; when there is only dip, there is no prosperity and when there is only rise, there is prosperity for a fixed period. For the rest there is ill-luck, except during the initial stages,

stand in places opposite to those above mentioned.[53] These and others, including golden trees, must be cut down if they stand nearer the house than twice their own height.[54] (23)

It is excellent[55] to have on either side of the house and behind, such trees as *Śrīvṛkṣa* (Gmelina arborea), *Vilva* (Aegle marmelos), *Vyādhigna* (Cassia Fistula), *Abhaya* (Terminalia chebula) *Āmalaka* (Phyllanthus Emblica), *Suradru* (Pinus deodara), *Palāśa* (Butea frondosa), *Aśoka* (Polyalthia longifolia), *Māleya* (Santalum album), *Punnāga* (Calophyllum), *Āsana* (Terminalia tomentosa), *Cambaka* (Michelia champaka), and *Khadira* (Acacia catechu). Similarly, it is good to have anywhere such creepers as *Kadali* (Musa Sapientum), *Nāga* (Piper betle), and *Mulla* (Jasminum pubescens). (24)

Such trees as *Panaśa* (Artocarpus integrifolia) are woody inside, *Ciñca* (Tamarindus indica) and teak (Tectona grandis) are woody throughout; *Tāla* (Borassus flabellifer), *Kera* (Cocos nucifera) *Kra-Ciñca* (Tamarindus indica) and teak (Tectona grandis) are woody outside; *Śigru* (Moringa pterygosperma), *Saptaccada* (Alstonia scho-

varying betwen eight and twelve years. In all the three columns all the series agree and so the difference mentioned in the third series may be due to the presence of the rise. If so the bad features of a site are to be explained on the basis of the slope of the land, not so much on the rise. It also deserves to be pointed out that the levels of a site are necessarily of four kinds: rising, dipping, rising and dipping and even. In the above scheme there is no mention made of the even level. Here then we are to understand that even level is good (cf. verse 17). Again it deserves to be pointed out that when a land slopes, there need not necessarily be a rise and *vice versa*: that appears to be the view taken by the author. Strictly this is impossible: it should, therefore, be taken to mean that there need not be any pronounced rise when there is a fall and *vice versa*. From this point of view the whole description must be understood as referring to pronounced falls or rises or both. As we have already mentioned, there is some scope for a textual reconstruction.

53. As before, the taboo of certain trees in the site appears to be based upon some conventions of old, except where they are based upon a sense of utility. A variant reads *cūtakera* for *keracūta*.

54. The injunction here laid down is eminently practical. In Kerala which is exposed to the full force of the South-west Monsoon, the presence of trees very near the house is very unsafe. In the first place the trees chosen must be strong enough to withstand the force of the winds, and secondly they must be planted far away from the houses at least double their own height, so that even if they be uprooted, they should do no harm to the house.

55. A variant reads *sthāpyā* instead of *śastā*. This is no doubt better reading. Another variant reads *khadirasta-* instead of *khadirāsta-*.

laris), *Suradru* (Pinus deodara), *Kiṁśuka* (Butea frondosa), etc., have no woodiness. Of these the first variety must be planted half way round the house,[56] the second still beyond it, and the last further away from it. (25)

Kāraskara (Strychnos nux-vomica), *Āruṣkara* (Semecarpus Anacardium), *Kaṇḍakitadru* (Flacourtia Cataphracta), *Śleṣmātaka* (Cordia obliqua), *Kakṣadruma* (Terminalia belerica), *Pīli* (Careya arborea), *Niṁba* (Azadirachta indica), *Snuhi* (Euphorbia antiquorum), *Piśacadru* (Trophis aspera), *Hemadugdha* (Ficus glomerata)—these should never find a place in the compound of a house. (26)

[*Section xi : The determination of the site with reference to the presence of temples, etc.*]

In the rear and left of *Viṣṇu* shrines and in front and to the right of terrible deities such as *Bhadrakāli, Naraśiṁha, Śiva* and others of the kind, it is unlucky to have a dwelling house. Similarly it is unlucky, when the shrine is in a low place and when the house is either in front or to the right. It is not considered good to have for a house a greater height than that of the shrine.[57] Those who depend upon the shrines may have their houses near the shrine. (27)

The immediate proximity of corn-fields, mountains, temples, ocean, rivers, hermitages, cattle-pens (and rocks)[58] is in many ways dangerous

56. All trees are divided into four kinds, those that are internally woody, that are externally woody, that are all woody and that are not woody at all. In planting trees, the first variety must be planted half way between the house and its boundary, subject to the general rule already laid down that they should stand away from the house twice their own height. Then must come the all woody trees and still beyond the other two varieties. The whole assignment is based with reference to the sense of security. In planting cocoanut trees, as the practice obtains now, this rule is often violated; for they are found planted everywhere and it is held that a cocoanut tree will do no harm to anybody.

57. Mythological associations and local conventions will account for the restrictions imposed on the choice of a house site near temples. That there is nothing intrinsically wrong about it is clear from the exception given so far as the temple menials are concerned. Another local convention accounts for the proscription of buildings higher than the temple itself, provided they are situate within the temple *saṅketa*.

58. A variant reads *grāma* for *grāva*: *atiśubhadamidam* for *idamatiśubhadam*; *ayam* for *alam*.

to dwelling houses.[59] Similarly, dwelling houses that are shorter than, or equal in height to, temples are auspicious. That which is taller and is of more than one floor is not desired. (28)

[*Section xii : Preference for sites according to castes.*]

[60]The sites that have a natural growth of *Kuśa* grass (Poa cynosuroidea), *Dūrva* (Panicum Dactylon), and *Kāśa* (Saccharum spontaneum); that have equal sides, that have their length greater than their breadth by one-eighth, one-sixth, and one-fourth; that have their soil white, red, yellow and dark in colour; that have the scent of ghee, of blood, of food, and of liquor and the tastes of *Svādu* (sweet), *Kaṣāya* (astringent), *Tikta* (bitter) and *Kaṭu* (pungent)—are prescribed for *Brahmins* and the rest. (29)

[61]The site which is high in the south and low in the north and is rich in *Udumbara* (Ficus glomerata) is good for *Brahmins;* that which is high in the west and low in the east and is rich in *Caladala* (Ficus religiosa) is good for *Kṣatriyas;* that which is low in the west and high in the east and rich in *Vaṭa* (Ficus bengalensis) is good for *Vaiśyas;* the same is good for *Śūdras* if there be *Plakṣa* (Ficus infectoria). That which is high in the north and low in the south is good for none.[62] (30)

59. The taboo regarding the building of houses near oceans and rivers is the result of practical experience. Houses near the seashore are open to tidal waves and erosions and those near river banks, to seasonal floods. From the point of view of hygiene dwelling houses must not be in the vicinity of cattle-pens, a fact often completely ignored in India. Hermits require peace and calm, conditions which the atmosphere of dwelling houses in the vicinity does not admit. Houses near rocks are no doubt unpleasant, particularly in the hot weather, while those near mountains are in perpetual danger from wild animals.

60. These ideas are not found mentioned in the *Vāstuvidya*.

61. The general direction given goes against the perferences already mentioned. The site with the rising east and sloping west has been condemned as producing poverty, and this is now prescribed for *Vaiśyas* and *Sūdras*. This is strange, unless it is presumed that the presence of particular trees would mitigate the evils thereof. This is expecting too much, particularly because trees are liable to be cut down. The rationale of this is not easy to understand.

62. A variant reads *varjyāḥ* for *varjyā*.

[*Section xiii: Procedure to be adopted when the site presents mixed characteristics.*]

When the site is mixed in shape, in colour, in odour, and in taste, it is to be avoided by all. If the characteristics are not clearly perceived, the site is to be examined at night in the following way. (31)

[63]Dig a pit in the centre (one cubit in dimensions) and place therein an unbaked pot filled with grain; cover its mouth with a platter, sprinkled with ghee and with coloured wicks (arranged in all the four sides) in the order of *Brahmins* and the rest, white towards the east, red towards the south, yellow towards the west, and black towards the north and light them properly. If after a short interval[64] the white wick burns, it is good for *Brahmins;* if red, for *Kṣatriyas;* if yellow, for *Vaiśyas;* and if black, for *Śūdras.* If all the wicks are burning, it is good for all castes, and if all have gone out, it is good for none. (32)

Fill the pit with water and drop into it the flowers of the *Droṇa* (Leucas Linifolia). If these flowers[65] move about in a circumambulatory direction, it is good; otherwise, it is condemned. If they come and halt in a quarter, it is auspicious, but if in a corner, it is to be condemned. After having thus known the good and bad, the wise should level the ground. (33)

(*End of Chapter I*)

63. The direction here given to find the good nature or bad of a site by means of an experiment is really as conventional as the perference itself. The two experiments may at the most tell us about the direction of the wind, but nothing more. But the direction or the force of the wind has never been mentioned as a basis of differentiation. Evidently here also we have conventions of a superstitious character at work.

64. The original term *muhurta* may also be taken as meaning 48 minutes. But if it may be understood in that sense, mere sprinkling of ghee in the platter would not suffice.

65. The term *sumanasām* may be taken also in the sense of good men. If this idea may be accepted, the site becomes good for good men.

Trimsacchloki

(ṬĪKĀSAHITĀ)

EDITOR : K. R. PISHAROTI.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

The *Trimśacchlokī* with the commentary that is here published for the first time was discovered by my revered uncle, Punditarāja K. Rama Pisharoti, and handed over to me for publication. The text is a small treatise in thirty kārikās which expound the full significance of such expressions, as *na ca . . . iti vācyam, nanu . . . iti cenna, yadyapi . . . tathāpi* etc., which find a prominent place in *Śāstraic* writings, and which, therefore, forms an important contribution to our dialectic literature. The work is practically unknown in the north and so we may assume that the author is a southerner, though unfortunately nothing more is known of him. The *Ṭīkā* is written by one Paṭṭābhirāma Śāstri. He is the disciple of one Nṛsimha Śāstri who is the author of a commentary, called *Prabhā*, on the *Muktavali ;* and he has also written commentaries on the *Muktāvali,* the *Saṅgraha* and the *Dīpikā*. He appears to have flourished in the latter part of the 18th century.

Department of Sanskrit,
Annamalai University,
Annamalainagar,
1st. August, 1935.

K. RAMA PISHAROTI,
Professor of Sanskrit.

University Notes

Our Chancellor.

On the retirement of His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Lieutenant-Colonel Sir George Frederic Stanley, P.C., G. C. I. E., C. M. G., in November 1934, His Excellency Lord Erskine, G. C. I. E., who succeeded to the Governorship became our Chancellor. Sir George Stanley was taking a very keen interest in this University since its inception and we are sure that the same kindness and solicitude will be extended to us by our new Chancellor.

Our Pro-Chancellor.

After leading a deputation of the Indian Community of Burma to the Secretary of State for India with conspicuous success our Pro-Chancellor has returned to our midst. We are confident that his experiences in Europe and America will be of great value to us and to those institutions with which he is associated.

Our Vice-Chancellor.

Dewan Bahadur S. E. Runganadhan, M.A., I.E.S., retired on April 28, 1935, having completed two terms as the first Vice-Chancellor of this University.

Dr. S. N. Chakravarthi, M.Sc., D.Phil. (Oxon), acted as Vice-Chancellor from that date to the 26th June when the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H., took charge as permanent Vice-Chancellor.

We take this opportunity to congratulate Dr. Chakravarthi on his appointment as acting Vice-Chancellor, and to welcome into our midst the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H., our new Vice-Chancellor.

* * * * *

Staff.

We congratulate Mr. C. S. Srinivasachariar, Professor of History and a member of our Editorial Board, on the conferment on him of the title of Rao Sahib by the Government of India.

* * * * *

The Syndicate has awarded a Fellowship to Mr. T. S. Raghavan, M.A., Lecturer in Botany for higher studies to be prosecuted in the King's College, London.

* * * * *

A text book in Tamil on Acoustics by Mr. R. K. Visvanathan, M.A., Lecturer in Physics, has been accepted for publication by the Syndicate.

* * * * *

The judges specially appointed for the purpose have adjudged that the Tamil Text Book in Chemistry by " Susruta Dasan " is worthy of the prize of Rs. 1,000. We understand that "Susruta Dasan" is no other than Mr. N. Ananthavaidyanathan, M.A., Lecturer in Chemistry.

* * * * *

Mr. K. Rama Pisharoti, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit has been appointed member of a Committee to improve and equip the Devanagari Script.

* * * * *

The following candidates have been declared eligible for the degrees of Master of Science and Master of Literature :

M.Sc.

Name of candidate.	*Title of Thesis.*
1. K. Rangaswami, B.A. (HONS.) ..	On the Theory of normals to a Quadric in n. dimensions.
2. P. S. Varadachari, B.A. (HONS.) ..	Diamagnetism of liquid mixtures at different temperatures.
3. M. Swaminathan, B.A. ..	Synthetical experiments in the group of alkaloids.
4. K. Ganapathi, B.A. ..	Synthetical experiments in the group of alkaloids and the chemical investigation of some Indian medicinal plants.

M.LITT.

1. V. Sivaraman, B.A. (HONS.) ..	Factory labour in the Madras Presidency.

LECTURES.

Prof. Dr. Karel Hujer of the University of Prague, Czechkoslovakia, visited our University and delivered a lecture on ' Astrophysics ', under the auspices of the University Mathematics Association.

* * * * *

CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES.

The Syndicate has nominated the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, our Vice-Chancellor, as a delegate of the University to the Quinquennial Congress of Universities of the Empire to be held at Cambridge, in July 1936.

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Professor C. S. Srinivasachariar attended as a delegate of the University, the All-India Modern History Congress held at Poona, last June.

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Mr. L. K. Govindarajulu, B.A., B.L., Director of Physical Education, presided over the Provincial Health and Physical Education Conference held in Madras last April.

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SUMMER SCHOOL OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION

A summer school of Physical Education was conducted in the month of May under the auspices of the University. More than a hundred teachers belonging to the schools in the neighbouring districts took advantage of the course. We congratulate Mr. L. K. Govindarajulu, B.A., B.L., Director of Physical Education, his assistants and Mr. T. P. Navaneethakrishna on their success in this new venture.

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OURSELVES.

As an experimental measure we will be publishing three issues of the University Journal this year, one in each term in the months of August, November and March.

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DEWAN BAHADUR S. E. RUNGANADHAN.

On the 28th of April 1935 Dewan Bahadur S. E. Runganadhan laid down the reins of office having been the first Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University from June 1929 onwards when the new University began to function. His career as our Vice-Chancellor set the crown on his labours in the cause of education in South India for about a quarter of a century.

Born in 1878 of middle class Indian Christian parents he had a brilliant career as a student being placed in the First Class in his B.A., M.A. and L.T. examinations. After he had completed his studies in the Madras University he proceeded to Scotland where he spent two years in higher studies. He entered the Educational Service in 1907 as Assistant Professor of English in the Presidency College, Madras. From

this position in course of time, he rose to be Junior Professor of English, then Additional Professor and finally Acting Chief Professor.

For about twenty-two continuous years—except for a brief interval of three years—he was one of the most outstanding personalities in the educational world of Madras. To thousands of young men who were privileged to sit at his feet in the Presidency College his name became synonymous with all that was high and noble in University studies. Meticulous in his dress, polished in his manners, perfect in his enunciation of English, he seemed to be the embodiment of the best type of gentleman that the Universities could place before the young men of the time. Perhaps no teacher in recent years did more than Professor Runganadhan to enable Indian students to appreciate the rhythm and beauty of the English language.

During his years of work in the Presidency College he was interested in every aspect of University education. For many years he was Chairman of the Board of Studies and of the Board of Examiners in English and member of the Syndicate of the University. He was an Officer of the Madras University Training Corps and Secretary of the Inter-Collegiate Athletic Association, Madras. He was Warden of the Victoria Hostel for ten years (1920-29). No wonder that Mr. Runganadhan was one of the most popular and universally respected of the professors in the Presidency College. He was with the students not only within the narrow limits of the class room but he took every opportunity of getting into intimate contact with them whether it be in the sports-field or on the parade ground or on the thousand and one occasions when the resident warden of a hostel meets his wards in the dining hall or in the residential quarters. In 1928 the Syndicate of the Madras University chose Professor Runganadhan to lead the General University Inspection Commission; this he did with conspicuous success. The service on the Commission must have been of special value to him not merely because he could meet again many of those with whom he had worked in the Academic Council, Senate or Syndicate of the University but because it enabled him to renew his contacts with many of his old students actively engaged in various spheres of useful activity not least of them being that of higher education. To him it was more an educational pilgrimage, a triumphal progress rather than a formal visit of inspection. Above all it gave him intimate and first hand knowledge of all higher educational activities which came under the control of the Madras University. Administrative experience he had already gained by his three years' work (1916-19) as the First Principal of the Ceded Districts College, Anantapur. In April 1929 Government posted him as the Principal of the Government College, Kumbakonam, and his long connection with the Presidency College ceased. But

destiny had already marked him for higher things and within a few weeks he was called to be the first Vice-Chancellor of the new University which had just been started in the Tamil Nad, thanks to the munificence of Dr. Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar, Rajah of Chettinad.

The student world in South India hailed with satisfaction the appointment of Mr. Runganadhan as Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University. Well might they do so ; for here was a man who knew them and whom they knew. For twenty-five years gradually and patiently he had been building up an experience which was to be of immense use in his great task of launching and getting under way a new residential, teaching and unitary University in the heart of the Tamil Nad. The University was to devote itself both to teaching and to research especially the study of South Indian history and culture and technology. Barely eight years ago the Sri Meenakshi College which formed the nucleus of the new University had been started ; and the veteran educationist that he was Mr. Runganadhan knew one has to make haste slowly if progress is to be steady and certain. As he conceived it a University should have a background of culture, an academic atmosphere, before specialised work can commence. The foundations of advanced research should be well and truly laid on a sound school of teaching and study which could challenge comparison with other institutions elsewhere. To the students who enter the portals of the University a sound education of the mind and body should be possible. What the country needed was not mere book-worms, nor quill-drivers chained to the desk but leaders of thought and action who would bring nearer the new India of our dreams ; men who could work together as a team, men who could forget individual rights for the sake of national liberties, men who could stand united not caring for the differences of caste, creed and religion. Rightly therefore he laid stress on the undergraduate's activities in the playgrounds and on his social life outside the class room.

Some measure of his achievements on the academic side we can have if we recollect that the new Vice-Chancellor had to begin from the very beginning : from the length and breadth of India a staff had to be collected who could be expected to do the work, the departments of study had to be organised, the University bodies had to be constituted and, last but not least, new courses of study had to be considered, sifted and put into workable shape. These by themselves would be sufficient labour for a man's hands ; but Mr. Runganadhan did not stop there. He worked incessantly for securing recognition of the infant University and its degrees within the country and abroad. For six years he represented it on the Inter-University Board, attended the Universities' Conferences at Delhi in 1929 and 1934 as a delegate and went abroad as the representative of the University to the Congress of the Universities of

the Empire at Edinburgh in 1931. Besides, the duties of the Vice-Chancellor on the administrative side were onerous indeed. He had not only to build up new lecture halls, laboratories and libraries but he had to devote his attention to the housing of the staff, to roads, to water-supply and in short to undertake all-the duties of the Chief Officer of a Corporation. During his regime as Vice-Chancellor, a huge building programme has been pushed through, roads laid, an electric supply instituted and gardens, parks and playgrounds have sprung up everywhere. His work in the University was recognised by Government when they conferred on him first the title of 'Rao Bahadur' and later of 'Dewan Bahadur'.

No one who has been in any way connected with the University during the past six years can ever forget the tall and military figure, the smiling face and genial personality of Mr. Runganadhan. Long service under Government had taught him the value of tact and patience and no one who entered his presence ever went away without feeling that he had been face to face with a good, kind and lovable man. We cannot conclude this sketch better than by quoting the closing words of the address that was presented to him by the members of the University staff on the eve of his retirement :—

" Of soul sincere,
In action faithful, and in honour clear ;
Who broke no promise, served no private end,
Who sought no title, and who lost no friend."

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RT. HON'BLE V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI, P.C., C.H., LL.D.

The Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri took charge of the office of Vice-Chancellor on the 26th June, 1935. It is not possible for us to give an adequate sketch of the wide and varied activities of this eminent son of India. We attempt here only to trace in bare outline the main events of his distinguished career.

Born on the 22nd September 1869, Mr. Sastriar gave early proofs of his genius at School and College : he passed his Matriculation before his 15th year and took his degree before the 19th. Invariably he was found to be at the top ; nor did he win place or distinction by confining his attention to the narrow sphere of his studies, but devoted himself to games and athletics. It is said that he excelled in tennis and even more in a ready command of choice English which was later to cause surprise even to the most gifted of Englishmen. He entered life as a teacher and continued as such for about twenty years. Even now when one listens to his clear analysis, cogent reasoning and inimitable pre-

sentation of ideas, one can well realise how fortunate his students must have been in having a teacher of such keen intelligence and oratorical skill. The work of educating he has always loved: in fact, his whole life has been devoted to the task of educating his countrymen, to pause and consider all sides of a question before arriving at a decision, to be patient and tolerant and to place always Society above self; of educating Government into the realisation that the strength and greatness of a state lie in the prosperity and contentment of the people; of educating the nations of the world into the recognition that the mild Hindu is the repository of a culture second to none in the world and is possessed of an intellect which can rise to any height when the need arises. Recognising in Gokhale a kindred spirit he joined the Servants of India Society in 1907, thereby pledging himself to a life of voluntary poverty to be spent in the increasing service of his motherland and to follow a career which would lead to no official positions or favours. Service of Society, not a thought for self, has indeed been the motto of his life. From the very first he was the trusted friend and lieutenant of Gokhale; and when Gokhale died unexpectedly in 1915 the mantle of leadership of the Society fell on the shoulders of Mr. Sastriar. He was elected to the Senate of the Madras University in 1910 and continued there for ten years. Both there as well as in the Madras Legislative Council—to which he was nominated three years later—as in his earlier life as Headmaster of the Hindu High School, Triplicane, he has rendered yeoman service to the cause of education in this Presidency. In 1916 he was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council and for the next five years he worked in close association with the Congress in the cause of Home Rule and Social Reform. In 1919 he proceeded to England as a member of the Moderate Deputation and gave evidence before the Parliamentary Select Committee. Next year he was elected to the Council of State. He was closely associated with Mr. Montague during his visit to India in 1918.

By this time his selfless service for the country, his mastery of the spoken word and his personal charm and magnetism had won for him a place in the front rank of Indian politicians and he was selected by Government to represent India at the Imperial Conference in 1921. Mr. Sastriar had for long pleaded with pen and tongue the cause of Indian self-government and the need for recognising India as a free and equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. During this Conference he made English and Colonial Statesmen realise the strength of his case and the Imperial Conference recognised the claim of Indians to citizenship in South Africa and in other Dominions while reserving the right of each Dominion to fix the character of its population according to its wishes. Nothing contributed to raise the prestige of India in

the eyes of the world more than the work of Mr. Sastriar in England. In recognition of his services to the Empire he was appointed by His Majesty as a member of the Privy Council and the City of London conferred its freedom on the distinguished visitor. In the course of the same year, he was called upon to represent India in the second Assembly of the League of Nations and in the Disarmament Conference at Washington. When he returned to India next year, at the request of Dominion Premiers, he was deputed by the Government of India to tour the Dominions and plead the cause of Indians domiciled in those countries. People in those distant lands realised for the first time to what height Indians could rise; and as ambassador of Empire, Mr. Sastriar showed the highest qualities of statesmanship which in a country like England would have brought their possessor to the highest position in the state. Soon after his return from this mission he was invited by the Calcutta University to deliver the Kamala Lectures 'On the Rights and Duties of an Indian Citizen'. In the recent past we know how he was the soul and brain of the Habibullah Deputation to South Africa and how as a result of that mission he was chosen to be the first Agent-General of the Indian Government in South Africa. For two years (1927-29) he adorned this place with distinction and founded the now famous Sastri College. Even when he returned to India owing to an impaired health he was called to the membership of the Royal Commission on Labour. The distinction of C.H. was conferred on him in 1930. His work in the second Round Table Conference and his contribution towards making an All-India Federation possible are too well known to be recounted. During years of labour as educationist, orator, statesman and social reformer, he has held aloft the banner of selfless service and has earned for himself the name of a true servant of India. Once again at the call to service he has come forward from his retirement and fortunate indeed are those to whom it is given to share in his labours.

With a vast fund of experience culled from many fields and many climes and a wisdom that has been gained by years of loving labour he comes again to dedicate his services to the Temple of Learning. In his new surroundings the noise and dust of political controversy are exchanged for quiet work among a chosen band of intelligent workers from whom he is assured of support and appreciation. Speaking to the staff assembled to welcome him, the new Vice-Chancellor told his hearers that on them depended 'how long and to what purpose he was going to be in their midst'. May we assure him that the staff of this University will stand always loyally by him, giving of their best to the institution, so that, under Providence, his days may be many in our midst and the labour of his hands fruitful and that the institution which is his to mould and strengthen may become great among the great seats of learning in this sacred land of India.

Reviews

Chaucer—Troilus and Criseyde: Abridged and Edited by R. C. Goffin. (Oxford University Press.)

Mr. Goffin has done a distinct service to the students of Chaucer in bringing out this abridged edition of Chaucer's long narrative poem. Especially for the beginner who first attempts to read Chaucer, the length of *Troilus and Criseyde* seems to be the most formidable obstacle. Hence we know that for every hundred students who read Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* there are scarcely five who would willingly plod through all the five books of the poem containing in all more than 8200 lines.

Of all the works of Chaucer, the text of *Troilus and Criseyde* was perhaps the most difficult to determine. This work of determining the correct text has been done by more than one editor—Skeat, Robinson, Root and by Sir W. S. McCormick in the Globe edition of Chaucer edited by A. W. Pollard. The last mentioned editor has spared no trouble in collating all the different manuscripts (more than twenty in number) and has given us the most authentic text of the poem. Mr. Goffin, however, admits that "the text followed in this abridged edition is that of Skeat, a text which still remains, on the whole, the most practical available." We do not know on what grounds Mr. Goffin calls the text of Skeat "the most practical available". Skeat, though a great scholar and the first to give us the complete Chaucer, has been superseded in the matter of textual accuracy by later editors like McCormick and Root. Mr. Goffin might well have followed the text of these later editors.

In other respects the edition is admirable. Though the poem suffers by abridgement we recognise that no editor could satisfy the preferences and exclusions of all the admirers of the poem. We find some of the excellent stanzas of descriptive beauty in Books III and IV cut out in the abridgement, but evidently in an edition of this kind it could not be helped. The abridgement serves one purpose admirably; it tells the story excellently without many gaps in the narrative, and this is the principal merit of the text. Those who have used Mr. Sisam's editions of Middle English Texts in teaching students will find this edition one more valuable addition to that series on the same model. We are sure that this edition will be welcomed by all teachers of Chaucer who would like to prescribe a work of his other than the *Canterbury Tales*. The introduction is very helpful to the student and the notes are exhaustive enough for him to understand the textual allusions and synonyms.

M. S. S.

International Intellectual Co-operation 1934. Published by the League of Nations International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, 2 Rue de Montpensier, Paris (Palais-Royal), 1935, pp. 228.

This book is a review and a summary of the work done under the auspices of the Institute in the direction of International Intellectual Co-operation. Proceeding on the dictum of Paul Valery that 'a League of Nations implies a league of minds' the central idea of intellectual co-operation is defined as the promotion in all spheres which come within its range of a co-ordination of effort and a collaboration capable, not merely of saving time and facilitating information, distribution and progress, but also of promoting the creation, gradually perhaps but none the less certainly, of the international outlook.

The most vital question of the day is the preservation of international peace; especially now, when Italy's bellicose attitude to Abyssinia is about to precipitate a first class European crisis. The prestige of the League seems to hang by a slender thread with Italy threatening to leave the League while Britain and France look on helplessly; and hence this publication is of special interest to us now (Aug. 1935). It is no doubt true that imperfect and incorrect knowledge is the parent of many ills and that the high road to international peace lies in the education of the people. The aim of International Intellectual Co-operation is therefore the promotion of 'collaboration between nations in all fields of intellectual effort in order to foster a spirit of international understanding as a means to the preservation of Peace!'

After defining the scope and purpose of intellectual co-operation an account is given of the work of the year 1934. Questions concerning international relations, general questions of international co-operation, questions regarding education, the natural sciences, literature, libraries, fine arts, folk arts and intellectual rights were considered. Some of the topics chosen for discussion are 'Future of European Thought and Culture', 'Art and the State', 'Collective Security', 'The Cinema and Educational Life', 'The Teaching of History', 'Educational Broadcasting', 'Co-ordination of Scientific Bibliographies' and 'Library Planning and Equipment'. The book concludes with documents embodying the names of office-bearers and representatives in the various organisations for intellectual co-operation and an excellent index.

A. C. S.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Uber Die Gruppen Birationaler Transformationen Der Elliptischen Und Der Hyper Elliptischen Kurven In Sich.

Eine Methode Zur Approximativen Berechnug Einseitig. Eingespanuter Druckstabe Mit Veranderlischen Querschnitt.

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War Cry.

The Salem District Urban Bank, Limited, Jubilee Souvenir.

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Staats-und Universitats-Bibliothek : Hamburg.

1. *Lenz: Fur die Hamburgiesche Universitat 1918.*
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Four mathematical dissertations by

1. *Matell 1924.*
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The Studies of Old and Modern India (Alt-und Neu-Indische Studien) by Professor Skhubring, Hamburg.

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3. *Sayast-ne-sayast.*

Annual Report of the Indian Central Cotton Committee.

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